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PRECIPITOUS DESCENT OF A CORDILLERA OF THE ANDES

JOURNAL

OF A

RESIDENCE AND TRAVELS

IN

COLOMBIA,

DURING THE YEARS 1823 AND 1824,

BY

CAPT. CHARLES STUART COCHRANE,

OF THE ROYAL NAVY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR HENRY COLBURN,
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1825.

TO

SIMON BOLIVAR,

LIBERATOR AND PRESIDENT

OF

COLOMBIA,

DICTATOR OF PERU, GENERALISSIMO OF THE ARMIES,
&c. &c. &c.

Your Excellency,

On my arrival in Colombia in 1823, I had many letters of introduction, which I had hoped to have delivered into your hands. Unfortunately for me, though happily for Colombia, you were engaged in combating in the cause of Freedom at too great a distance to admit of the completion of my wish for an introduction to a warrior, whose fame is only bounded where civilization ceases.

Without permission, but with great respect, I dedicate to your Excellency these Volumes, containing a faithful delineation of the country emancipated by your patriotism, and fast rising into rank and estimation amongst the States of the world, under your protection.

Although circumstances have hitherto denied me the pleasure of an interview with your Excellency, I trust the day will arrive when I may personally assure you of the high admiration of your character, and great estimation of your talents, with which I beg to subscribe myself,

Your obedient humble servant,

CHARLES STUART COCHRANE, R. N.

London, Jan. 25, 1825.

PREFACE.

In presenting these Volumes to the Public, I beg to disclaim any attempt at authorship, beyond the endeavour to give a sketch of men, manners, and circumstances as they occurred to me, without magnifying defects, or distorting facts. My object has been a faithful description of my travels through, and residence in Colombia, where I found hospitality beneath every roof, and welcome from every tongue.

In that country there is every facility for enterprise, and every prospect of success: man alone is wanting to set the whole machine in motion, which is now inactive, but which, with capital and industry, may be rendered productive of certain advantage, and ultimate wealth.

From the state of torpid inactivity in which Colombia has been so long retained by the abasing despotism of Spain, she is fast rising to exertion and industry: her prosperity is rapidly increasing, and will daily extend in multiplied channels, diffusing in its progress the happiness and knowledge which were perpetually repressed by the arbitrary measures of the mother-country.

My observation has convinced me of the truth of my assertions, which daily reports also justify and confirm; and if I inspire my readers with a tithe of that warmth of feeling and interest for Colombia and her children that I myself experience, my aim will be attained, and my wishes gratified.

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Esta edición facsimilar es patrocinada por
THOMAS DE LA RUE DE COLOMBIA S. A.,
con ocasión de sus veinticinco años de
vinculación al país

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Queda hecho el depósito que ordena la ley

PREFACE

It was not an easy task to find a suitable permanent memento of an occasion as important as the 25th Anniversary of the foundation of Thomas de La Rue de Colombia SA, but I think that the problem has been solved in the most imaginative way by reproducing one of the rare classics in the English language on the subject of Latin America, "Cochrane's Travels".

Besides being a work of considerable historical importance, it is a book full of interesting and occasionally unique information, written in the quaint English of the early nineteenth century by an Englishman who clearly loved Latin America and its people in general, and Colombia and the Colombians in particular.

It may not be inappropriate therefore to point out that there are Englishmen alive today who, emotionally at least, follow in Cochrane's footsteps in their affection for Colombia and its people; and thanks to the investment which De La Rue made in Colombia in 1959 there are many in this British company ('with the funny French name') who are proud to regard themselves as falling into that category, myself included.

We would not of course be celebrating 25 years of unbroken growth in De La Rue's Co-

lombian businesses if we had not been lucky enough to find a very remarkable man to manage them from the very outset. Don Gregorio Bautista was already beyond the first flush of youth when he accepted the risk and the challenge of resigning from a safe Government job and investing his talents and his future in the creation from scratch of a new industry in Colombia.

It is a matter now of history, although not yet of ancient history, that Don Gregorio, and De La Rue with him, succeeded in this endeavour to an extent beyond even his wildest dreams. Today De La Rue employs 1227 people in Colombia; its name is known throughout the length and breadth of the land; its standing in the pursuit of excellence is unequalled.

Although he has now retired from the front line of battle, the direction of which has passed to his son Felipe, Don Gregorio remains very much Mr. De La Rue in his great country and will no doubt remain so until the day he dies. The republication of this book to mark De La Rue's 25th birthday in Colombia is intended as much as a tribute to him as a gift to our many Colombian friends.

P. F. Orchard

London
November 1984

INTRODUCTION

by Howard Rochester

Even though he more than once refers to his father, Sir Alexander Cochrane, a sometime commander-in-chief of British forces in the West Indies, not much is known about the author of this Journal of a Residence and Travels in Colombia during the Years 1823 and 1824. But mention must be made of his family connexions, especially since a relative of his played an important part in the drama of Latin American independence, and, what is more, in two different plays, so to speak, and on two separate stages.

Chile can never forget the exploits of this other Cochrane, who also belonged to the Royal Navy. Thomas Cochrane, the tenth Earl of Dundonald, had gone to sea in a ship commanded by an older Cochrane, an uncle of his. The Navy, it would seem, was by way of being a family tradition, but the most illustrious of them all was this Thomas, the intelligent and intrepid Admiral who had been, in an interval of retirement from his calling, a member of the British Parliament that is, before returning to the sea when the Chileans invited him to organize and command their naval forces. The author of the Journal, with characteristic restraint and without the least show of family pride, relates Lord Cochrane's success against the Spaniards in the Ecuadorian harbour of Guayaquil and in those of Valdivia and Callao, the last-named being the scene of his capture of the Spanish frigate "Esmeralda".

It was also this Lord Cochrane who went to the aid of Dom Pedro, the Portuguese prince and Regent

of Brazil, then gallantly striving to bring about the independence of that country, in defiance of the Côrtes of Lisbon. Thanks to Thomas Cochrane, the strong Portuguese garrisons gave up the struggle against the patriotic movement and departed from the shores of what was soon to cease to be a colony.

As for the author of this Journal, Captain Charles Stuart Cochrane, R. N., the little that we know about him includes the fact that he was gazetted Lieutenant on 5 September 1816, and from 26 June 1817 for at least a year served on the "Blossom", a ship of twenty-six guns, under the command of Captain Frederick Hickey. As of March 1818 this ship was stationed in Brazilian waters, the House of Braganza being a staunch and ancient ally of the English Crown. On 1 February 1821 Cochrane became Lieutenant in the "Impregnable", a ship of a hundred and four guns, under the command of Captain Alexander Skene. He seems to have remained in this ship, stationed in Plymouth, as First Lieutenant until the second half of 1822. On 26 December 1822 he was made Commander, and is listed as such in the Navy List until 1831, though with no ship.

Of his subsequent career no record has been found, but it must have been less checkered and far less marked by dash and daring than that of his distant and distinguished kinsman, the Earl of Dundonald.

After producing his extraordinarily absorbing narrative of his residence and travels in Colombia, enriched with a thoughtful onlooker's insight into the most diverse aspects of the contemporary scene, Cochrane is known to have written at least one other book entitled The Great Week in Paris. Dedicated to Lord Cochrane, with whom he explicitly claimed a family connexion, and published in 1830, this short book, or, rather, pamphlet, was written with a view to pointing out the moral and

political implications of the July Revolution, memorable for the three days' battle and the barricades of the Parisian workmen and students against the forces of the government.

In his Colombian diary Captain Cochrane states that the object of his visit to Bogotá was to obtain for himself the exclusive rights for pearl fishery in Colombian waters and to look into the feasibility of the general opening up of the country to British commerce and industry. For just then the success of the patriot arms, directed by Simón Bolívar and the other worthies of the War of Independence, his followers, had put an end to "the illiberal system of Spanish cupidity", as the Captain describes the legislation which prohibited the colonies of Spain from trading with any save the mother country.

The personal commitment of the British statesman George Canning to the independence of the Spanish colonies in the New World is generally recognized. But it should likewise be clear that his Latin American policy was not inspired solely by that characteristic and traditional English championship of freedom at home and abroad which has been made memorable by such soul-stirring episodes as the death of Sir Philip Sidney in a Flanders held down by the Catholic bigotry and imperial pride of the Spaniards, and the death of Lord Byron in a Greece desecrated by the brutal power and the very presence of the Turks. Canning also thought of British trade and an opportunity to create new markets, favoured, as such a policy would be, by the hard-won freedom of the lost colonies to buy and sell wherever they pleased. No wonder, then, that in the second decade of the nineteenth century a goodly number of British visitors, amongst them Captain Cochrane, explored the facilities Colombia

might offer for their enterprise and technical skill.

How were these adventurers received? Charles Stuart Cochrane's two volumes resound with praise and gratitude for Colombian hospitality. Everywhere he went he was greeted with courtesy and even warmth. This was not at all incomprehensible. Apart from the tendency to good manners, surely in part a mirror and sometimes perhaps a heritage of the Castilian hidalgo's image, there was amongst the Colombians —as there still is— a sentiment of thankfulness and admiration for those thousands of the British Legion who, despite raw exposure to the hardships and hazards of tropical swamps and jungles and of the freezing passes of the high Andes, performed prodigies of valour, in the engagements of Carabobo, Pantano de Vargas and Boyacá and in many a dubious battle, side by side with the native-born heroes of Bolívar's Army of Liberation. It was the fresh remembrance of this comradeship in daring and death that opened propitious doors to British visitors in search of opportunities for trade and industry. Several of these, like Cochrane himself, arrived long before the Spaniards were finally dislodged from Colombian soil.

Although the times of Jiménez de Quesada and Federman were long past, the legend and lure of El Dorado had lingered in the fantasy of many a British youth, to whom maturity was to bring a new and less intangible vision — that of scientific exploration and actual mining, perhaps not specifically for gold, but for any precious ore. Cochrane himself evinces a keen interest in several gold mines, in the fabulous treasure the Lagoon of Guatavita was supposed to conceal, and in the gold dust and the platinum which were being inefficiently exploited in Chocó.

In the very year he left the country, British initiative founded the Colombian Mining Association of London,

with the purpose of working the Mariquita silver mines, which had been given over as unproductive by the Spaniards after a period of unsuccessful administration. It is worth mentioning that the technical director was Robert Stephenson, son of the world-famous George Stephenson, one of the two English inventors of the locomotive engine. It is interesting to notice as well that Robert – himself an important inventor, since to him we owe the tubular bridge – met in Cartagena de Indias another renowned British engineer, the other inventor of the locomotive in fact, Richard Trevithick, quite penniless at the time, and made him his travelling companion on his return voyage to the United Kingdom.

Cochrane refers to serveral compatriots of his whom he met in his Colombian travels. There were, indeed, a good many Britons who actually settled in the country. Not all of them were merchants or representatives of British firms; some were industrialists in their own right, others craftsmen, and private traders not a few. Several, perhaps the majority, followed the example of some of the survivors of the British Legion by marrying into Colombian families. These, obviously, would not have shared Cochrane's dim view of "the swarthy complexion and neglected locks of Colombian women", who for him were at a disadvantage when compared with his countrywomen, said by him to be "as unrivalled in personal delicacy as in form and complexion". Nonetheless, he concedes that certain Colombian "young ladies, although of dark complexions, are not destitute of a ruddy glow of countenance, nor of agreeable manners besides". Still, it is clear that, despite this qualification, he was in complete accord with the gentlemen and poets of the English Renaissance, and, particulary, Shakespeare, whose Dark Lady of the Sonnets aroused in her lover an ambivalent passion, due

in part to the colour of her skin. Cochrane's judgement, though not ambivalent, seems balanced, and thus he pays tribute to the natural capacity and talents of Colombian women, censuring at the same time in the men what we today term "machismo", to which, by the way, he attributes he cause of the preference shown by these discerning ladies to foreigners!

The matter and tone of these reflexions are a sample of an interesting aspect of the book. The author never misses a chance to observe, sometimes with a measure of enthusiasm and often with cool, unhurried minuteness, the human scene. Creoles, mestizos, Indios, and Negroes, all come in for his unsparing appraisal. So too do oarsmen – the outlandish bogas of his diary –, senators, peasants, judges, alcaldes, military men, and priests. But it is not his aim to be censorious, as so many tourists nowadays seem to be, on set purpose. Consequently, one has no difficulty in undestanding why, whatever his settled opinions on trends, institutions or abstract questions, he evidently found it easy to enter into a cordial relationship with most of the people with whom be came into contact. He must have been a very likeable person, earning, as one gathers, special respect and goodwill wherever he happened to be.

There are not a few instances of wide divergence between his views on an establishment or dogma and his feelings towards individuals who represented it. He warmed to so many priests on close acquaintance, delightedly aware of their merits, that any contemporary of his, knowing only of his deep-rooted opinions on matters of faith and doctrine, might have been perplexed by his cordial relations with them, just as a person who knew only of these relations might have failed to suspect his animadvetsion to the Church of Rome. There was not, indeed, the slightest chance of his deviating from his set beliefs,

yet his native friendliness and his ingrained disposition to fairness made him see a very great deal to admire in the worthy memebrs of the Catholic clergy whom he knew personally. His views on religion were, of course, sometimes shortsighted, and he seems to have expected in Colombia an eventual rejection of the official creed of Spain as concomitant with liberation from the arbitrary power of Spain.

His remarks are sometimes tinged with a sense of humour or even a gentle irony, as when he points out the supposed lucrative astuteness of the Augustinian friars in parading through the streets of Cartagena, on one occasion, the miraculous image of Nuestra Señora de la Popa at the precise juncture when an opportune change in the weather was bound to bring about the abatement of a dread epidemic then raging in the city; or when he devotes a couple of pages to the earnest efforts of the eccentric, goodhumoured, bigoted priest Dr Antonio Vargas to convert him; or when he describes the plaguy but sometimes delightful senatorial blundering of the Bishop of Mérida, who was, he tells us with evident approval, an excellent private character and a zealous advocate of the rights of the Church.

This eyewitness account of the personages, events and conditions of those crucial years of transmition in the history of Colombia enthralls the reader, whether he be versed in the annals of the Independence or not. It must be a rich mine of information about the state of the country at that time for the profesional historian to exploit. And for everyone it is a trustworthy and vastly interesting record of the experience, ferret-eyed observation, and personal views of a conscientious diarist, mindful of the most minute particulars and solicitous to chronicle everything in unambigious language.

The style in which this curious Journal is couched belongs to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It has an ingenuous, slightly oldfashioned and quite delightful air. It is what one would expect of an unacademic but far from unlettered member of the British gentry writing in the eighteen-twenties or thereabouts. There are apt allusions to works by Samuel Johnson and Thomas Gray. It is easy to detect the influence of Neoclassicism shading off into pre-Romanticism.

Except for a few awkward participial constructions, the diction is smooth without being polished. If the writer ever felt that tendency to the ponderous which afflicted so many contemporary admirers of the ineffable Dr Johnson, it was checked by a gentleman's preference for the tone of polite talk, which, easy and unassuming, naturally shuns alike the pompous and the pedantic. His is an artless, unpretentious, unsophisticated style. At the same time, it very seldom descends to the colloquial, and when it does, it is in very good taste. It is, therefore, never racy in the usual sense, though sometimes spirited, as befits the numerous adventures it recalls and the frequent anecdotes it brings to life. Lively it may be, but never boisterous; gossipy, but never spiteful; vigorous, but never spasmodic or violent. It is easy to read, as much because of its clarity, precision and occasional grace as because of the unexpected gift of such gems as Cochrane's translation of the exordium and conclusion of Nariño's manly and eloquent defence before the Colombian Senate.

There is, however, a less praiseworthy aspect of Cochrane's writing that cannot escape the notice of his readers Few can object to the oldfashioned and even obsolete orthography of certain words, but there are other words which he has carelessly misspelt, possibly as

a result of the unchecked flow of the style and the easy-going spontaneity we accept and admire in the man. More pardonable are similar errors in another tongue — a very few in his French and a great many in his Spanish.

But let us not dwell on these blemishes; there is so much else for us to be thankful to him for. His eye wanders over what are now the separate republics of Venezuela and Colombia, picking out, for our instruction, interesting facets of such subjects as liberty, legislation, government, local administration, health, education, food, commerce, industry, social and economic problems, immigration, and the implications of the ethnic components of the Colombian nation. Some of his comments are original, and most of them sensible.

Under his pen not only the Colombian worthies, but those of the rest of Spanish America, from Mexico to Argentina and Uruguay, spring into strenuous life, as he recounts the history of the emerging nations.

He reveals, on the whole, an admirable fairmindedness. But his confirmation of the widespread belief in the truth of the Black Legend —a subject that still bedevils Hispanophiles— and of Spanish greed, iniquity and oppression during the colonial period can hardly endear him to those who read history in an utterly different light. Notwithstanding, he understands, though he does not condone, the war to the death and all the atrocities committed by both sides during the armed struggle for independence.

But the workings of his mind cover a great many matters of less controversial import. He is generous —to a fault— with his advice on a vast variety of subjects, not only to future travellers, but also to the Colombians, whom he would like to see engaged in a serious endeavour to improve their agriculture, their mining, their transport and roads, and, in short, all such means, activ-

ities and industries as would put the country on the highroad to wellbeing and prosperity. He cannot, in fact, hide his love for the country and its people.

He often embarks on detailed descriptions of trees or shrubs, animals, implements, and ways of doing things; and he devotes a footnote in smaller print and of almost five pages to an explanation of the lasso and the art of lassoing!

Like John Harnshaw, an English traveller who in 1823 also journeyed from Caracas to Bogotá, he was awestruck at the beauty, variety and grandeur of nature in Colombia, and even though he does not strive after lyrical effects, or, rather, just because he does not, he allows us at times to perceive in him a genuine though modest poetic sensibility, such as one would expect to find in a sampler but not necessarily a maker of verse.

He describes —as is his wont, in great detail— the ways in which people in this country hunt ferocious wild beasts; but, naturally, where he displays a sportsman's zest is in expatiating on fishing and shooting game, pastimes which bear directly on the pleasures of the table. In fact, with that precision of which he is master, he regales the gourmet reader with mouth-watering accounts of the relish he savoured whenever he found such food and drink as fully gratified his exacting palate.

Altogether the Journal is not only an instructive but also a most enjoyable book, and the author a prepossessing character for anyone who does not scrutinize too closely the quality of his intellect. Cochrane is no scholar, but nobody should expect him to be one. Though extremely knowledgeable and gifted with an all-embracing curiosity and a capacious memory, he sometimes strikes one as rather simpleminded. Sensible he certainly is; he is no fool; but he is too often prolix and repetitive, and at

times he attaches what a reader might be inclined to consider too much attention to simple matters. But we must remember that some of his explanations that seem superfluous today must have been welcome in the early nineteenth century to European and North American readers who had not visited his part of the world and for whom several matters that are plain facts for us may have appeared novel and exotic.

But now, as then, in addition to the possible exotic appeal of the book, one must return again and again to a different but equally perennial source of interest. It is the personality of the author. The unconscious humour that crops out from time to time and the oldfashioned or conventional convictions, sometimes quaintly set forth, may confirm an impression of artless simplicity, but somehow they also strengthen our admiration of Captain Cochrane's straightforwardness, seriousness of purpose, and transparent honesty. Such a sterling character cannot but command respect.

His sincerity is apparent in every sentence. Who can fail to be impressed by the scrupulous exactness with which he refers to his own sentiments and emotions? He errs, if at all, on the side of reserve and modesty. In recording a conversation he had with one Pepe París "on the future prospects of Colombia", he describes himself as wrapped in pleasing dreams, but in the same breath he gets as far away as possible, as he habitually does, from anything even remotely resembling hyperbole in summing up his state of mind; he very judiciously uses the word "almost" in a phrase which is no less judiciously written in a parenthesis. And this is what he says, "I almost felt myself a Colombian son of freedom".

H.R.

JOURNAL

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RESIDENCE IN COLOMBIA.

CHAPTER I.

OBJECT OF THE AUTHOR'S VISIT TO COLOMBIA—VOYAGE—CARACCAS—EARTHQUAKE—CURAÇOA.

WHILE serving on board the Andromache frigate, in the year 1819, my attention was drawn to the very defective system on which the Pearl-fishery of Colombia was then, and still is, conducted; and my reflections on the subject having led to the suggestion of new expedients, not only more productive, but calculated to effect a considerable saving

of human life by protecting the divers from the attacks of the sharks and mantas, (voracious fish that infest those parts of the fishery best adapted for yielding a good return,) I was induced to visit the capital of Colombia, for the purpose of securing an exclusive privilege for this fishery, in consideration of the expenses necessarily attending the adoption of my suggestions. I determined, at the same time, to examine into the resources of the country, being persuaded that it afforded extensive scope for commercial enterprise, and that by making known the opportunities it offered, the interests of mercantile and manufacturing industry would be promoted, and an impulse given to the developement of the internal wealth of a country so long shut out from all communication with the world, and debarred from a just participation in social rights, by the illiberal system of Spanish cupidity. I found an additional motive to my explora-

tory undertaking, in an innate curiosity and fondness for visiting foreign climes, to study men and manners in all stages of existence, from the most civilized and cultivated, to the most barbarous and ignorant. Such were the views, and feelings, with which I entered upon an examination of this highly interesting portion of the globe, which presents the gratifying spectacle of a nation successful in the vindication of its rights, and triumphant over the mean and mistaken policy that would have condemned it to a perpetuity of sloth, ignorance, bigoted superstition, and slavery.

Having, therefore, procured from the Admiralty two years' leave of absence, for the purpose of travelling, I proceeded to the West Indies, towards the end of 1822, availing myself of the opportunity afforded by Sir Edward Owen's squadron then going out, to gain Barbadoes in one of the ships under

his orders. Our voyage was rough and tedious; but its mischances and vexations were consigned to oblivion on our arrival, as all life's afflictions should be when once they are over.

I was detained at Barbadoes five weeks, no opportunity offering of a passage to the Main. My stay was, however, rendered as agreeable as possible by the kind attentions of Messrs. James and Michael Cavan, at whose country house I resided, and whose hospitality is well known to all who visit Barbadoes. At length I sailed from that island, and on the third day we made the coast of Terra Firma, the first sight of which strikes the beholder with astonishment. The ridge of mountains that extend along the coast springs precipitately from within a few hundred yards of the beach, and in some places from the ocean itself, and rises until the summits are hid in fleecy clouds.

Were the work not too stupendous, from knowing the policy of the Spaniards, we might be led to believe, that this ridge was raised on purpose to shut out the inhabitants of the interior from all communication with the rest of the world.

In coasting along, the scenery is romantic and pleasing to the eye, the mountains being covered with trees and brushwood, and here and there a small village, or cottage with plantation of plantains and cocoa-trees attached to it.

On the 13th we reached La Guayra, the port of Caraccas.

The aspect of this place from the sea is desolate and dreary in the extreme, and exhibits all the ruin and dilapidation consequent on the great earthquake of 1812. However, though on landing and entering the

town, the interior of the shattered walls is seen overgrown with weeds and shrubs, and reminds the spectator but too forcibly of that terrible event, yet the effect produced by this luxuriant vegetation, in the varied brilliancy of its verdure, is altogether exhilarating. The deserted ruins, covered in the inside with exotic foliage, form romantic inclosures, in which a variety of tall trees and shrubs have sprung up, raising their tufted heads above the roofless walls, or emerging through the openings which once contained windows.

The appearance of the surface of the earth, as well as that of the strata disclosed by the banks of the little mountain-stream of Guayra, that runs through the town, and, in short, every surrounding object, indicates the excessive heat which is the characteristic and scourge of La Guayra The place is consequently at certain periods

of the year very unhealthy. The thermometer varies from 82° to 96°. Mountains rising very perpendicularly at the distance of three hundred yards in the rear of La Guayra cause a very considerable reflection of heat, which, added to the latitude of the place, has made it generally to be considered the hottest spot in the world.

The insecurity of the harbour, which is a mere roadstead, and the mountains, across which the road to Caraccas lies, render La Guayra a very inconvenient port for that city: Nature, however, has refused them any other. In 1821 nineteen vessels were totally wrecked here by a north-easterly swell, although there was but little wind. The only ship which escaped was the Congress, American frigate, which, however, parted from four of her anchors, and would have been lost, had the swell

lasted an hour longer. Although the fortifications are strong, they have often changed masters during the civil war: the garrison is at present small. Notwithstanding the disadvantages I have mentioned, this place enjoys a considerable trade, chiefly with the English.

Immediately on landing I waited on the commandant, Colonel Avendaño, who informed me that the Spanish general Morales was closely blockaded in Maracaybo, that Puerto Cabello was invested, and both places expected to fall speedily, as the Patriots commanded by sea.

Between five and six o'clock on the following morning I set out for Caraccas, mounted on a mule. The distance is about five leagues; the road difficult, lying across a part of the Andes at the elevation of six thousand four hundred feet from the level of

the sea, and passing near the dome of the Silla, which rises to nine thousand feet. This mountain, thickly clothed with brushwood, has a rich majestic appearance.

Owing to the late rains, the road was extremely slippery, particularly towards the summit, where the paving remains which was laid at the time of the conquest, by the Indians, of whom one hundred thousand are said to have perished in the construction of this road, of excessive fatigue, want, and cruel treatment: in fact, it was the policy of the original conquerors to diminish the number of Indians by every means in their power.

Half way up the mountain, I stopped at a small building on a rocky ridge deeply embosomed in wood, called La Venta, where, in a few seconds, I was gratified by the appearance of a substantial Spanish breakfast,

consisting of hashes, stews, a peculiar dish of eggs cooked with several vegetables, besides chocolate and a pleasant wine from the Canaries, called Islania, and, what I found singularly refreshing, excellent cold water. The pleasure of such a repast cannot be fully understood until after five weeks residence between the tropics, when a difference of temperature and a cooling beverage have peculiar attractions.

The magnificence and grandeur of the scenery, beheld whilst toiling up this steep, cannot be surpassed. All sides of the mountains are thickly wooded, except in a few places, where, by dint of human labour and perseverance, the trees have been cut away, and cultivation has added to the beauty of the situation, by forming "tierras" of coffee, plantains, maize, &c. When clouds do not intervene to prevent the pros-

pect, nothing can be imagined more strikingly magnificent than the extensive view of the sea and neighbouring coast. On a clear day, you have an extent of horizon to nearly twenty-two leagues, whilst beneath are Cape Blanco, the village of Maiquetia, La Guayra, and the vessels in the roadstead. But when the sky is not serene, the view is infinitely more remarkable, and accumulated clouds, strongly illumined on their upper surface, seem like floating islands of light on the surface of the ocean. Impending at various heights are columns of vapour between the eye of the traveller and the regions below, which magnify the objects, and increase the wonder of the scene. Habitations and trees are, at intervals, visible through the spaces left by the clouds and vapours, which, urged by the wind, are perpetually changing forms and situation. Objects then seem deeper

than when contemplated through a calmer and purer atmosphere.

In continuing the ascent, we now began occasionally to meet with travellers of the country, proceeding to La Guayra, whose appearance was well adapted to excite the notice of an English visitor. They generally wore red or blue pantaloons, with long boots, spurs with immense rowels, broad-brimmed hats, and the wrapping cloaks called mantillas, or in their stead capotes, or roanos, which completely envelope the wearer, like the cloaks of our military. They go well armed, having pistols in their holsters and swords by their sides, which precautions have become habitual, through the effects of protracted war, and were necessary, on account of the disturbed state of the country.

The distant cries of the muleteers, or the sound of striking their animals with their

lepos, strips of hide noosed, which serve to catch stragglers and to chastise the lazy or refractory animals, occasionally announced the approach of a troop of loaded mules; and sometimes their appearance was merely preceded by that of a solitary one on the brow of the hilly road; in either case it was necessary to provide instantly for personal safety, as the whole troop was sure to come rushing down the next moment, often in the narrowest parts of the road, either between two precipices, or with a tremendous abyss on one side, and an almost perpendicular wall of rock on the other. The muleteers are fine athletic fellows, with the ruddy glow of health in their dark faces; they are lightly clothed in trowsers and sandals, wearing a shirt open at the neck, and exposing their muscular bosoms.

On reaching the summit of the pass, I observed the fog gradually clearing off from

the stupendous heights of the Silla. It is remarkable that this fog is peculiar to the La Guayra side, and seldom crosses the Silla, or makes its appearance on the side towards Caraccas, which city is three thousand feet above the level of the sea. It is probable that the heat of the sun, strengthened by reflection from the mountains, acts powerfully on the humid air of the lower level, which therefore rises into the atmosphere until, being condensed, it falls in the shape of rain or mist.

Winding round the mountain for a short distance from this pass, I reached a point which afforded a beautiful bird's-eye view of the city and valley of Caraccas. The latter is narrow, but of considerable length, and displays a verdant carpet of the most brilliant vegetation, threaded by a winding silver stream, and animated by herds of cattle scattered over the rich pastures. A

range of conical hills partly intercepts the view, but through the intervals between them the plains are seen, stretching away towards the horizon, the extremity being lost in the distant range of mountains, clothed with brushwood, and of majestic forms.

The city appears from this point directly beneath the eye, and has a very imposing effect. On approaching the guard-house of the barrier to pay the toll which is exacted from travellers, I was struck with the wretchedness of its appearance, the filth which surrounded it, and the squalid figures of the soldiery, whose small stature, dirty ragged clothing, half-polished musquets, and lack of shoes and stockings, afforded the most convincing proofs of the exhausted and miserable state to which intestine war had reduced this fine country. From this barrier, the road lies along a ridge to the en-

trance of the town, where the first object that attracted my attention was a church on my left, which had been shattered by the earthquake. The walls only of the nave, although split in some places, stood erect, though partly concealed by the foliage of the wild vegetation, which in this country seems ever ready to take advantage of the desertion of any spot, to recover it from human usurpation: the central tower had not entirely fallen, but stood deeply rent from the top in a leaning position, threatening destruction to all within its reach. Many similar scenes of dilapidation characterized this part of the town, roofless and shattered walls, leaning with various degrees of inclination, being met with at every step; a little further on, symptoms of renovation appear, in a few houses which are building: and at length, on reaching the southern part, few traces of the calamity are seen, the houses generally remaining entire, with merely oc-

casional flaws in the walls. These are chiefly built of sun-dried clay, or mud beaten down between wooden frames. The roofs are of tile, and the walls white-washed. The city is well situated, and airy. The average height of the thermometer is 72°, with a good breeze.

"Caraccas*, the metropolis of the province of Venezuela, while under the Spanish yoke, founded in 1566 by Diego de Losada, is situated in the delicious valley of Arragon. Although it is in 10° 30′ of latitude, and 67° of West longitude, this elevation, added to some other local causes, suffices to give it during winter the temperature of our spring, and in that season the heat is very seldom so great as in our summers. It is the residence of the Captain General; of the Intendant; of the Audiencia, or su-

* From the French of M. Lavaysse.

preme administrative and judicial tribunal; of an Archbishop; a Chapter; a tribunal of the Inquisition (abolished by the present government,) and a University. It has somewhat of a triangular shape, and is about two thousand toises long on each side. Like all other towns in the New World, its streets are drawn at right angles, and are rather wide. Being built on an unequal surface, whatever Caraccas wants in regularity, it gains in picturesque effect. Many of the houses have terraced roofs, others are covered with bent tiles; there are many that have only a ground-floor; the rest have but one story more. They are built either of brick or earth well pounded, and covered with stucco,—of an architecture sufficiently solid, elegant, and adapted to the climate. Many of them have gardens in their rear, which is the reason that this town has an extent equal to an European one that would contain a hundred thousand persons. Four

beautiful streams that traverse it contribute to its coolness and cleanliness, and give it an air of animation which is not found in cities deprived of running water. As in some towns of the Alps and Pyrenees, each householder in Caraccas has the invaluable advantage of having in his house a pipe of running and limpid water; which does not prevent all the squares and almost all the streets from having public fountains. In general there is much luxury and gilding in the decorations of the houses of wealthy persons, and among all more cleanliness and comfort than in Spain. This town does not possess any public edifice remarkable for its beauty and size, with the exception of the church of Alta Gracia, built at the expense of the people of colour in Caraccas and its vicinity.

"The city is divided into five parishes: that of the Cathedral, Alta Gracia, Saint

Paolo, Saint Rosalia, and La Candalaria. Three other churches belong to confraternities: Saint Maurice, the Divina Pastora, and the Trinidad. Though the architecture of these churches has nothing remarkable, they are solidly built, and richly ornamented in the interior. The Cathedral is two hundred and fifty feet long by seventy-five broad, and its walls are thirty-six feet high; four ranges of stone columns, each containing six, support the roof. The only public clock in the town, three years ago, was in the steeple of this church.

"This city has five convents, of which three are for men, the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Brothers of the Order of Mercy. The church of Dominicus has a very curious historical picture: it represents the Virgin Mary suckling a grey-bearded Saint Dominick. The following is the account of this miracle, as recounted by the sexton to those

who visit the church. Saint Dominick having had a violent pain in his breast, and his physician having ordered him woman's milk, the Virgin suddenly descended from Heaven, and presented her breast to the Saint, who, as it may be supposed, was cured in an instant. The sexton finishes his story by observing that the Virgin operated this miracle in acknowledgment of their founder's devotion for the rosary.

" The priests of the oratory of St. Philip de Neri have also a church: they are usefully occupied in the civilization of the aboriginal inhabitants.

" The two convents for women are those of the Conception and Carmelites. A more useful and respectable association is the Congregation of Las Educandas: it is a community of young ladies of good family, and well educated, who, though they do not

make vows of chastity and confinement, as the others do, observe them much better, and occupy themselves in the education of young females.

"The Archbishop of Caraccas has for suffragans, the Bishops of Merida and Guiana: he had, previous to the rupture of the treaty of Amiens, a revenue of about sixty thousand dollars for his part of the tithes, without counting what accrued to him from the sale of dispensations, indulgences, bulls, &c., articles which raise his revenue to more than ninety thousand. In general, those bishops, canons, monks, and nuns, are richly endowed, well fed, and do not painfully tread the paths that conduct to Heaven, amidst thorns and briars; it is, however, necessary to do them this justice, that they have neither the brutality nor intolerance of their brethren in Spain; nor is

it rare to find among them persons of elegant manners, learning, and virtue.

"The reader will not perhaps be a little surprised, that the head of a government so important, the captain-general, and immediate representative of the Sovereign, formerly resided in a hired house, of which he had only the ground-floor; the intendency, the audiencia, tribunals, and military hospital, are also in rented houses. The Contaderia, or treasury, a solid but mean building, and the barracks, which are vast, and well built, are the only edifices that belong to the government.

"This town has a college, founded in 1778 by Antonio Gonzales d'Acuna, Bishop of Caraccas, and converted into a university in 1792, with the permission of the Pope! In this university reading and writ-

ing are first taught. Three professors teach enough of Latin to read mass, Aristotle's Physics, and the Philosophy of Scotus, which still prevailed in this school in 1808. A professor of medicine demonstrates anatomy, explains physiology, all the laws of animal life, the art of curing, &c. on a skeleton, and some preparations in wax. If in this orthodox country a provision for instructing in the profane arts and sciences has been neglected, it has not been so with the study of theology and canon law; five professors are occupied in teaching those sciences. One only, the most learned of course, is employed to defend the doctrine of Saint Thomas on the immaculate conception, against all heretics! No diploma can be obtained without having sworn to a sincere belief in this revered dogma!

"The university has also a professor who teaches the Roman law, the Castilian laws,

the Code of the Indies, and all other laws. In fine, a professor of vocal church music forms part of this hierarchy of instruction, and teaches the students of law and medicine, as well as those of theology, to sing in time and harmony the airs of the Roman ritual. By letters I have lately received from that country, I am informed that the leaders of the Independent party have introduced into the courses of instruction the study of the philosophy of Locke and Condillac, the physics of Bacon and Newton, pneumatic chemistry, and mathematics, to the great displeasure of certain persons, whose luxury and corpulence were maintained by the ignorance of their countrymen.

" A town like Caraccas could not but require a theatre; and the one it has is decorated with the finest ceiling in the world, which is the sky: the roof only covers the

boxes, so that when it happens to rain, which is seldom the case in this country, those in the pit are drenched. Nothing can be more monotonous and contemptible than the acting of their players; yet this wretched performance is frequented by the inhabitants of all classes, even by the priests and monks, who go there in their religious habits.

" The population of the town of Caraccas was forty-seven thousand two hundred and twenty-eight persons of all colours, in 1807: it amounted to fifty thousand souls in 1810; three hundred and forty-six thousand seven hundred and seventy-two persons of all colours then composed the population of the other towns and the province of Caraccas, properly speaking, which makes a total of 396,772 inhabitants.

" I ought here to rectify an error of almost all geographers in the political divi-

sions of the late captain-generalship of Caraccas or Venezuela. The Spanish collection entitled 'Viagero Universal,' and the Geographical and Historical American Dictionary of Colonel Alcedo, do not present the most sure and exact notions in the description of this part of the country. The late M. Depons is not only the first Frenchman, but the first European, who has made a good statistical table of this country: still his work is not without errors and negligences, some of which I shall notice.

"Almost all European geographers confound the general government of Caraccas or Venezuela, with the province, of which the town of Saint Leon de Caraccas is the capital. This town was the residence of the President,* Captain General, Intendant, and

* The Captain General used to be President *ex-officio* of the Audiencia. The title of President was considered as superior to that of Captain General, or Governor.

an Audiencia manepre (administrative and judicial court), on which depended the respective governors of the provinces of Cumana and New Andalusia, Maracaybo, Varinas, Guiana, and the Island of Trinidad.

"It is not possible to be too clear and precise in the description of a country as yet so little known, and respecting which there are confused and contrary accounts. I shall therefore repeat what I have already stated, that when the Spaniards discovered this country, they found near the Lake of Maracaybo a great number of Indian villages, built on piles, which made them give it the name of Venezuela, in comparing it with Venice. This name soon extended to all the province, of which Coro became the capital. The town of Caraccas being subsequently made the metropolis of all the country, formed then the captain-generalship of that name; the district of that town took

the name of province of Venezuela; which, though it be not by its extent the most considerable of the five that compose the general government of the Caraccas, now gives its name to the Republic of the Seven Provinces that have so wisely shaken off the yoke of the Regency of Cadiz.

" When the district of Caraccas had taken the name of Venezuela, the country situated round the Lake received that of province of Maracaybo: the two provinces which were successively dismembered from those of Venezuela and Maracaybo were called Varinas and Guiana. A portion of the country known by the name of New Andalusia, as also the island of Margarita, formed part of the separate government of Cumana. The island of Trinidad was a sixth province or distinct government, depending on the captain-generalship of Caraccas, until the English conquered it in February 1797.

Venezuela is the national name adopted at present by the confederate provinces, and Caraccas is their metropolis; the province of Venezuela has taken the name of province of Caraccas. This province is bounded on the W. by the sea, on the N.W. by that of Maracaybo, on the N. by that of Cumana, and on the E. and S. E. by that of Varinas.

"The commercial port of the province of Caraccas is La Guayra: it is a bay, open to all winds, and an unsafe anchorage in stormy weather; but this port has the advantage of being only five leagues from Caraccas. La Guayra is built on the side of a mountain, which, in this climate, adds to the heat of the atmosphere: from the beginning of April to the month of November, Fahrenheit's thermometer is usually at 90°; and from the beginning of November to the end of March, it is generally at 85° or 86°. The humidity of the climate, added

to the heat, produces annually inflammatory fevers, which degenerate, in twenty-four or thirty-six hours, into putrid fevers, that are chiefly detrimental to those who are newly arrived from Europe, and the cold regions of America; for those who are seasoned to the climate are seldom attacked, though they do not enjoy a good state of health there.

"This town is badly built, but tolerably well fortified: it had a population of seven thousand souls in 1807, comprising a garrison of eight hundred men. There is but one church in it, and the rector is also chaplain to the garrison. La Guayra had not a municipal administration of *Cabildo* before the revolution; like the greater part of other towns in this country, it was governed by the commander of the fortress, who united in his person the civil and military authority; but there was an appeal

from his sentences to the Royal Audiencia of Caraccas.

"The greater part of the merchants of La Guayra are only the agents of those of Caraccas, of which the former is but the wharf; for scarcely are the goods landed, when they are transported to Caraccas on the backs of mules. The two towns are situated at about five leagues from each other: to go from La Guayra to Caraccas, the mountain of the Venta, above four thousand feet above the level of the sea, is ascended on mules; travellers rest on the plain at its summit, where there is a bad inn, but where it is always cool. I found Fahrenheit's thermometer at 7° above the freezing point there on the 28th of January. There is a very agreeable sensation experienced on this delightful summit after leaving the burning atmosphere of La Guayra."

"The shock felt at Caraccas * in the month of December 1811 was the only one that preceded the horrible catastrophe of the 26th of March 1812. The inhabitants of Terra Firma were ignorant of the agitations of the volcano in the island of St. Vincent on one side,—and on the other, of those that were felt in the basin of the Mississippi, where, on the 7th and 8th of February 1812, the earth was day and night in perpetual oscillation. A great drought prevailed at this period in the province of Venezuela. Not a single drop of rain had fallen at Caraccas, nor in the country ninety leagues round, during five months preceding the destruction of the capital, The 26th of March was a remarkably hot day. The air was calm, and the sky unclouded. It was Holy Thursday, and a great part of the population was assembled

* Baron de Humboldt.

in the churches. Nothing seemed to presage the calamities of the day. At seven minutes after four in the afternoon, the first shock was felt: it was sufficiently powerful to make the bells of the churches toll; it lasted five or six seconds, during which the ground was in a continual undulating movement, and seemed to heave up like a boiling liquid. The danger was thought to have passed, when a tremendous subterraneous noise was heard, resembling the rolling of thunder, but louder, and of longer continuance than that heard within the tropics in time of storms. This noise preceded a perpendicular motion of three or four seconds, followed by an undulatory movement somewhat longer. The shocks were in opposite directions, from north to south and from east to west. Nothing could resist the movement from beneath upward, and the undulations crossing each other. The town of Caraccas was

entirely overthrown. Thousands of the inhabitants (between nine and ten thousand) were buried under the ruins of the houses and churches. The procession had not yet set out; but the crowd was so great in the churches, that nearly three or four thousand persons were crushed by the fall of their vaulted roofs. The explosion was stronger towards the North, in that part of the town situate nearest the mountain of Aoila and the Silla. The churches of La Trinidad and Alta Gracia, which were more than one hundred and fifty feet in diameter, left a mass of ruins scarcely exceeding five or six feet in elevation. The sinking of the ruins has been so considerable, that there now scarcely remain any vestiges of pillars or columns. The barracks, called *El Quartel de San Carlos,* situate further north of the church of the Trinity, on the road from the custom-house de la Pastora, almost entirely disappeared. A regiment of troops of the

line, that was assembled under arms, ready to join the procession, was, with the exception of a few men, buried under the ruins of this great edifice. Nine-tenths of the fine town of Caraccas were entirely destroyed. The walls of the houses that were not thrown down, as those of the street San Juan, near the Capuchin hospital, were cracked in such a manner that it was impossible to run the risk of inhabiting them. The effects of the earthquake were somewhat less violent in the western and southern parts of the city, between the principal square and the ravine of Caraquata. There the cathedral, supported by enormous buttresses, remains standing.

"Estimating at nine or ten thousand the number of the dead in the city of Caraccas, we do not include those unhappy persons who, dangerously wounded, perished

several months afterwards, for want of food and proper care. The night of Holy Thursday presented the most distressing scene of desolation and sorrow. That thick cloud of dust, which, rising above the ruins, darkened the sky like a fog, had settled on the ground. No shock was felt, and never was a night more calm or more serene. The moon, nearly full, illumined the rounded domes of the Silla, and the aspect of the sky formed a perfect contrast to that of the earth, covered with the dead and heaped with ruins. Mothers were seen bearing in their arms their children, whom they hoped to recall to life. Desolate families wandered through the city, seeking a brother, a husband, a friend, of whose fate they were ignorant, and whom they believed to be lost in the crowd. The people pressed along the streets, which could no more be recognized but by long lines of ruins.

"All the calamities experienced in the great catastrophes of Lisbon, Messina, Lima, and Riobamba, were renewed on the fatal day of the 26th of March 1812.

"The wounded, buried under the ruins, implored by their cries the help of the passers by, and nearly two thousand were dug out. Never was pity displayed in a more affecting manner; never had it been seen more ingenuously active than in the efforts employed to save the miserable victims, whose groans reached the ear. Implements for digging and clearing away the ruins were entirely wanting; and the people were obliged to use their bare hands to disinter the living. The wounded, as well as the sick who had escaped from the hospitals, were laid on the banks of the small river Guayra; they found no shelter but the foliage of trees. Beds, linen to dress the wounds, instruments of surgery, medicines,

and objects of the most urgent necessity, were buried under the ruins. Every thing, even food, was wanting during the first days. Water became alike scarce in the interior of the city. The commotion had rent the pipes of the fountains; the falling in of the earth had choaked up the springs that supplied them; and it became necessary, in order to have water, to go down to the river Guayra, which was considerably swelled; and then vessels, to convey the water, were wanting.

"There remained a duty to be fulfilled towards the dead, enjoined at once by piety, and the dread of infection. It being impossible to inter so many thousand corpses, half buried under the ruins, commissaries were appointed to burn the bodies; and for this purpose funeral piles were erected between the heaps of ruins. This ceremony lasted several days. Amid so many public

calamities, the people devoted themselves to those religious duties which they thought most fitted to appease the wrath of Heaven. Some, assembling in processions, sang funeral hymns; others, in a state of distraction, confessed themselves aloud in the streets. In this town was now repeated what had been remarked in the province of Quito, after the tremendous earthquake of 1797; a number of marriages were contracted between persons who had neglected for many years to sanction their union by the sacerdotal benediction. Children found parents, by whom they had never till then been acknowledged; restitutions were promised by persons who had never been accused of fraud; and families, who had long been enemies, were drawn together by the tie of common calamity. If this feeling seemed to calm the passions of some, and open the heart to pity, it had a contrary effect on others, rendering them

more rigid and inhuman. In great calamities, vulgar minds preserve still less goodness than strength; misfortune acts in the same manner as the pursuits of literature and the study of nature; their happy influence is felt only by a few, giving more ardour to sentiment, more elevation to the thoughts, and more benevolence to the disposition.

"Shocks as violent as those which in the space of one minute overthrew the city of Caraccas, could not be confined to a small portion of the continent. Their fatal effects extended as far as the provinces of Venezuela, Varinas, and Maracaybo, along the coast; and still more to the inland mountains; La Guayra, Mayquetia, Antimano, Baruta, La Vega, San Felipe, and Merida, were almost entirely destroyed. The number of the dead exceeded four or five thousand at La Guayra, and at the town of San

Felipe, near the copper-mines of Aroa. It appears, that it was on a line running E. N. E. and W. S. W. from La Guayra and Caraccas to the lofty mountains of Niquitao and Merida, that the violence of the earthquake was principally directed. It was felt in the kingdom of New Grenada, from the branches of the high Sierra de Santa Martha,* as far as Bogota and Honda, on the banks of the Magdalena, one hundred and eighty leagues from Caraccas."

The principal produce of the surrounding country is wheat, maize, rice, indigo, cotton, tobacco, sugar, coffee, and cocoa.

The culture of indigo has been much neglected since the revolution, but this may be made a most productive article.

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* As far as Villa de Los Remedios, and even to Carthagena.

Cotton is good, but not gathered in the best and cleanest style; with care, however, it may be rendered an article of great value. In proportion to the increase of European settlers, there is no doubt but that very considerable quantities will be grown, and every facility afforded for its exportation.

Tobacco may be produced, and the actual demand of the country requires it to a much greater extent than it now is. But this being a government monopoly, individuals are not allowed to speculate in it, whilst a long war and the low state of public finances have prevented the government from paying due attention to this branch of agriculture, which, if pursued with due means and industry, would no doubt produce a very considerable revenue, —the demand exceeding the supply in the proportion of three or perhaps four to one.

A superior system is, however, under the consideration of the legislature; viz. to open the cultivation of this article to free competition, subject to a duty which would more than compensate the deficiency in the revenue.

Sugar may be produced in much greater abundance, and better state, than it now is, and may also be refined in the country.

Coffee and cocoa of the finest quality may be grown in immense quantities. The cultivation is at present checked by the war, as well as by the heavy expense of carriage to La Guayra, amounting to two dollars per mule-load of these bulky articles; but upon the completion of the new road now making, which is to follow the windings of the valleys, at a gentle ascent, allowing the introduction of wheel carriages, these articles will materially undersell the

West India market. In fact, a certain quantity is now exported; and a vessel took in a lading of this description, during my stay.

Having letters to Mr. White, the administrator of tobacco, I waited on him, and was very politely received. On learning my intention to proceed to the capital, he furnished me with letters of introduction to the President, Vice-president, and several of the ministers and principal persons in Bogota.

In the evening I visited several families successively, according to the custom of the place. At these houses I generally found the company assembled in a room ill-lighted with tallow candles, and unincumbered with furniture, except sofas and mats. The ladies sit on these in general in the Turkish fashion, in a costume which is more remarkable for ease than for displaying to advan-

tage the proportions of their figures. In fact the head alone is exhibited or adorned, the rest of the person, loosely attired, being enveloped in an ample shawl. The young ladies, although of dark complexions, are not destitute of a ruddy glow of countenance, nor of agreeable manners besides. They converse with ease and vivacity, and are extremely inquisitive about the state of society in England; they sing with feeling and discrimination, accompanying their voices with the guitar, or a small harp, like the ancient Irish one; they are passionately fond of dancing, and the waltz is a great favourite with them. The natural capacity and talents they evince, excite regret for the entire neglect of their education, the defects of which the conversation addressed to them by the men is little adapted to supply. Gallantry, though universally professed by the latter, does not seem to inspire them with any idea of those pleasing assiduities,

those delicate attentions which elsewhere adorn and refine the sentiment; and when we observe how little attention is here paid to women before marriage, we cannot be surprised at the total neglect which generally succeeds that ceremony. To the same cause might, in some degree, be attributed the preference shewn by the ladies to foreigners, did not their unquestionable attachment to the laws of hospitality afford a solution more agreeable to their native admirers.

At these parties, refreshments are handed round, consisting of sweetmeats, to which all the partakers help themselves with the same fork,—of water in large silver tankards, and sometimes chocolate. Little or no play takes place on such occasions; yet gaming, although discountenanced by the legislature, is carried on by the men in places appropriated to this vice, to a ruinous extent; and

thus they too often waste the treasures which ought to have been poured out for the public good in the exigencies of the state: a practice little less censurable than that of burying them in the ground, which is frequently resorted to by selfish and timid cupidity.

I did not visit the Alameda, which is the usual ride of the English from three to seven o'clock, on account of the shortness of my stay. There, in the happier days of Caraccas, its whole population used to assemble every evening to enjoy the cool breeze. I dined and slept at the Fonda, where I found the accommodations little like those of a London hotel. My bed-room had no window; a deal table held the vessel of water supplied me to wash with, and the rest of the furniture was proportionably mean. In the course of the day I met with several English officers, who had served in the cam-

paigns of Venezuela; one of whom, although retired from service, was under the necessity of placing himself at the head of a military party, which was ordered to go in pursuit of the only banditti known to remain in existence, and was unwilling to march unless under the command of a British officer.

On the 15th of March I left Caraccas, in company with Captain Dawkins of the Helicon. At the Venta, or inn, on the hill, where I breakfasted, in going up, we were joined by Messrs. Miranda and Wilson, sons of the generals so named; the former on his way to establish a printing-press to aid the cause of liberty, the latter about to join General Bolivar as his aide-de-camp. Captain Dawkins and myself had been engaged in serious conversation, but the youthful gaiety of our new fellow-travellers so exhilarated the whole party, that we soon

found ourselves contending in a headlong race down these precipitous mountains, at the imminent risk of our necks.

At five in the afternoon we embarked on board the Helicon, and sailed with the Jane, English merchant-vessel, and a Dutch schooner, under our convoy.

The following day we came in sight of the island of Curaçoa, and at five P. M. passed close by the town of Wilhelmstadt, which appeared of considerable extent and agreeably situated, stretching along the sea-shore at the foot of some hills, which bear a considerable resemblance to Salisbury Craigs, near Edinburgh. As the trade-wind blows throughout the whole extent of this island, the general temperature of the climate is agreeable. The houses have a remarkably neat appearance, being chiefly white or yellow, with red tile roofs. The harbour,

called Amsterdam, is in the centre of the place, and seems convenient. The town is tolerably well defended, having an elevated battery on the rising ground in the rear, and heavy forty-two-pound batteries on the level of the sea, which defend the entrance of the harbour; notwithstanding which Sir C. Brisbane captured it. In the year 1807, Sir Charles Brisbane, being out on a cruise with four frigates, part of the squadron under Admiral Dacres on the Jamaica station, determined on the bold attempt of taking Curaçoa by surprise. He had never even seen the island, and only knew that it was remarkably strong to seaward, and had no anchorage outside the harbour, the mouth of which was not broader than his ship was long. On the last day in the year, he approached as nearly as possible to the place, under cover of the darkness of the night. He had learnt that the Dutch were in the habit of rejoicing on this eve,

and that, giving way to their joy, all classes joined in festivity till a late hour. Presuming on this, at daybreak on the morning of new-year's-day, he dashed into the harbour and soon silenced a frigate of the enemy lying there, and stopped the fire of the batteries, except one on the heights: he then landed and surprised the governor in his bed: all was consternation on the one side, and promptitude on the other; and in less than an hour from the commencement of the attack, Sir Charles Brisbane was master of the island.

Here the Dutch schooner left us, and we steered away to the N.W., coasting along the island, the surface of which seemed generally to be very unequal.

In the afternoon we perceived high land through the haze, and hauled up for it, wishing to make a point about fifty miles to

windward of Santa Martha; but on getting in-shore we found we were seven miles to leeward of that place; the current from the eastward having been running for the last twenty-four hours upwards of two and a half knots an hour, which agrees with Baron Humboldt's account, that the current runs from one and a half to four knots an hour, according to the force of the wind and the season of the year. The natives say that the moon likewise has a considerable effect on this current, which, at the new and full moons, changes, and runs to the eastward for twenty-four hours.

Here I must caution all captains of ships navigating on this line of coast, to allow for the current, in general, at least one knot and a half per hour, on an average, with an increase in proportion to the strength of the breeze, and an abatement at the new and full moons: otherwise ves-

sels heavily laden, overshooting their ports, may lose as much as three weeks by having to stand away nearly to the Antilles before they can get sufficiently to windward to gain the port they have missed; and even men of war run a risk of carrying away spars and masts in beating up.

CHAPTER II.

SANTA MARTHA—PASSAGE UP THE MAGDALENA TO MONPOX.

We worked into the anchorage of Santa Martha by eight o'clock in the evening; but the Jane, having carried away her top-gallant-masts, did not get in until the next morning.

This bay is small, and best adapted to the reception of merchant-vessels of light draught of water, which are moored head and stern close in-shore, with one anchor from the stern to the beach, being thus very conveniently situated for lading and

unlading. Larger ships are here much exposed to N. E. winds, by which they have sometimes been blown out through the passage between the castle and the island of the Moro ; but by having a lead overboard, with a careful man to attend to it, by which you know when you commence to drag your anchor, a ship may in such a case make sail and stand out to sea clear of all danger.

The castle is admirably situated for the defence of the bay, being on the summit of an almost perpendicular, insulated rock, above the angle at which a ship's guns could have much effect : it commands the town and entrance to the harbour. Its importance seems, however, not to have been duly appreciated by the natives, as they have only a few guns mounted, and abandoned it when attacked by the Indians a few months before my arrival, although it might have defended the town as long as its provisions

and water would have lasted. There is a small battery on the level of the sea, in front of the town, mounted with five guns; another formerly existed at the N. W. extremity of the bay, but is now dismantled.

The appearance of the town as seen from a vessel standing into the bay, is neat and pretty, the houses being whitewashed, and in general covered with red tiles. To the eastward there is a range of hills of no great elevation, but steep and of conical form; their bases are sandy, but their summits covered with brushwood. The wind rushes through the intervals between them with great violence into the bay, and thus contributes to its insecurity.

I landed with Capt. Dawkins on the morning of the 18th, and immediately waited on the governor, a civil and rather agreeable man, about forty years of age, and

bearing the commission of colonel in the army. He made us the usual complimentary offers of all assistance in his power, and consented that, although there existed an embargo on all vessels, the Jane should anchor and proceed again to sea without detention. He also allowed an English schooner to depart that had been detained three weeks, and in all probability would have remained as much longer had we not made our appearance.

The town presented the most deplorable scenes of ruin and destruction. The Indians, who had kept possession of the place for three weeks until General Montilla came down and retook it, had committed every species of wanton mischief, and literally torn the place to pieces. The population, which formerly amounted to eight thousand, is now reduced to a few

hundreds, and the once flourishing commerce of the place has been annihilated.

I dined with Mr. Fairbank, the principal merchant then in the place, from whom I heard many particulars of the ravages committed by the Indians, the traces of which I beheld in half-destroyed doors, wainscots and beams, and felt in the total want of most of the usual accommodations of civilized life. Those marauders had drunk all the spirits in his cellars; but his *vin de Bordeaux* and Champagne being too delicate for their unsophisticated palates, they had amused themselves by smashing a portion of the bottles to atoms, and with the remainder of the wine, on account of the scarcity of water, they had boiled their meat in large kettles suspended over bonfires made of the furniture of the proprietors, before the doors of their houses.

With such accounts, in the absence of the luxuries thus wasted, did my host regale my ears. He assured me that it would be long before Bolivar would be there, and that it was doubtful if he had yet returned from Panama to Buenaventura in the Pacific.

Being informed that there was game in this neighbourhood, I went out shooting, but found only a few pigeons. There are, however, at the distance of ten or twelve miles, deer, wild turkies, ducks, and rabbits.

Within the distance of a league from Santa Martha are some natural salt pits or mines, from which salt is obtained in considerable quantities, and which may probably become an important branch of trade. Silver has also been found in the vicinity; but the richness and extent of the veins have not yet been ascertained.

I was introduced, on the 20th, to Colonel Rieux, who was governor of this place at the time of its late capture by the Indians. I found him one of the most intelligent men I ever met with amongst the natives of Colombia. His parents were French, but he was educated in this country. He is mentioned by Humboldt as having rendered some assistance to that celebrated traveller during his tour in New Grenada; and in fact aided him in some of his scientific calculations, although at that time only fourteen years of age. Since that period he has usefully employed himself in constructing charts of all the principal rivers in Colombia, which will materially tend to facilitate the commerce with the interior. He proposed that we should proceed together to the capital, whither he was called, as a member of the senate, to attend Congress, and where he was also to abide the decision of a court-martial with

respect to the evacuation of Santa Martha. Under these circumstances, he offered to join me in the expense of a canoe from the village of Cienega, about eight or nine leagues from this place, and I readily acceded to his proposal.

Finding on inquiry, that the canoes which were to be had were of small dimensions, I thought it advisable to reduce my luggage to a much smaller compass than it had previously occupied, and on the 21st despatched my servant with my diminished equipage to the village of the Cienega, leaving the remainder of my effects to be forwarded to Jamaica, but which I have never since seen.

I would recommend every person travelling on horseback in this country to wear blue net pantaloons, long military boots, a blue and white cotton jacket, and a broad-brimmed straw hat, under which, in case

of extreme heat, he should tie a white handkerchief round his head. In one of his holsters he should carry a pistol, and a pistol bottle in the other, furnished with good *Cognac*. With the addition of a hammock, folded to sit upon, and laid over the saddle, lanyards at the saddle-bow to suspend the hammock by, a small valise on the crupper, containing dressing-case, dry shirt, and pair of stockings for a change on stopping for the night; a *roana* strapped on over the holsters, and a sword by the side, which is generally worn, and is necessary to make a respectable appearance,—I believe the equipment will be complete.

"Thus clad and fortified," having taken leave of our friends, Colonel Rieux and I set out on our journey.

Night soon overtook us, but a brilliant moonlight illumined with mild silvery splen-

dour the romantic scenery through which our course lay. The Colonel rode on before me, being intimately familiar with all the tangled woods, rocky passes, and other intricacies of our nocturnal route: in which the track was so imperceptible to me, that I was several times at a loss which way to turn; and, when the sound of his horse's hoofs almost ceased to reach my ear, I was forced, by vociferating most loudly, to stop his progress, begging to remind him that my horse, like most hired ones, was not in condition to keep up with his fine charger, and that it was not improbable that I should lose myself if he went so far ahead,—when it would be as likely that I should take a path leading to the mountains as to Cienega, and then it was possible I should become a prisoner to his friends the Indians, who were still in the neighbourhood. This a little restrained his speed; but it was not the only time that I had, by hailing him loudly, to remind

him of the fast-diminishing powers of the poor animal I rode, and assure him that if he continued at such a pace, I should not even reach Cienega. As we threaded the mazes of the forest, the startled deer frequently crossed our path, or fled before us amongst the thickets. Sometimes we found ourselves on the sea-shore, where the still beauty of the smooth expanse of waters, scarcely ruffled by a gentle ripple, glittering in the moonshine, would attract all our attention, until our horses, starting as the tide, rolling on the shore, washed their hoofs in spray, would rouse us from our abstraction. We forded several small rivers that crossed our track in their course toward the sea, in one of which, when our horses were breast-high in water, we were accosted by a mounted *peon* (a native of the lower class), who rode out from a thicket, and appeared by the manner in which he accosted us, to ask permission to travel in our company Taught

by fatal experience, I declined his request, giving him the Spanish phrase *Vaya vm. con Dios!** well remembering what I had suffered from misplaced confidence on a similar occasion in Chili, when my unfortunate friend the Hon^ble^ Lieutenant Finch was murdered before my face, and I myself narrowly escaped the same fate, not without being severely wounded.

At nine o'clock we reached the house of the curate of the Cienega, an elderly man, who received us very hospitably, as his friendship for the Colonel was of long standing. His father founded the curacy, where the son has hitherto spent his days, and where he intends to end them; hoping, however, for more tranquil times, better adapted to his peaceful vocation. A supper of the best description the place could afford was spee-

* "Go away, and may God be with you!"

dily set before us; after which Col. Rieux was visited by all the principal people in the vicinity. Among these, a negro colonel of cavalry attracted my notice as a remarkably active intelligent man. About eleven o'clock we retired to rest in our hammocks, which were suspended across the room very slackly, as is the custom of the country. The usual way of consigning yourself to repose is to lie in a diagonal position, which is easily shifted, and is found, after a little use, to be the coolest and most agreeable in this sultry, enervating climate.

At seven in the morning we breakfasted with the family of our host, who, although an old man, has several young children, —a circumstance by no means uncommon amongst the clergy of this country, although the candour with which this hospitable priest acknowledges his offspring may perhaps be less general. Our repast consisted

of fresh meat, fried eggs, and beef that had been dried in the sun, fried in lard, with the addition of several vegetables, making an excellent dish. Our wine was an inferior Catalonian; after which we had chocolate made so rich and thick that the spoon would stand upright in it. The ladies appeared to enjoy this substantial meal as heartily as ever Queen Elizabeth's dames of honour did their renowned breakfasts of beefsteaks and strong beer.

After this refection, I prevailed on the daughter of our host to entertain us with some national airs on her harp: which she readily did, playing with great force and animation, and occasionally introducing her voice as an accompaniment to her instrument. She had learnt entirely by ear, and like many of her countrywomen evinced a strong natural talent for music. Her harp was, unfortunately, a very bad one; and

she expressed a hope that ere long some good instruments would arrive from England, and that teachers of music would come out, so that she should be able to obtain some lessons on the piano-forte, which she was very desirous to learn.

At noon we took leave of this hospitable family, mounted our horses, and proceeded to a village on the banks of the Cienega, about a league from the curacy, called Pueblo Viejo, where we were detained a considerable time in order to make the necessary arrangements in our canoe, as the *Bogas*, or watermen, with the characteristic indolence of the country, had neglected commencing preparations until our arrival. At four in the afternoon we embarked on board a canoe fitted up with a *toldo*, or covering, over the afterpart, for us to lie down under, which afforded tolerable accommodation for two, although it requires

some time to accustom oneself to lying perfectly still in one unvarying extended position.

We began our voyage by poling, which the men perform in a clear space of about twelve feet, left for that purpose, in the fore-part of the canoe; and so instinctively are they habituated by custom to preserve the balance, that their movements never affect the *trim.* One boga, called the *patron,* a selected trusty man, acquainted with the navigation, sits in the stern to direct the canoe with his paddle.

At first we passed through several narrow channels formed by numerous islands, generally clothed with trees down to the water's edge. We saw many alligators basking in the sun, or darting through the water, either in sport or in the pursuit of the finny tribe on which they subsist. The Cienega

presents a variety of beautiful views. As we proceeded towards the Magdalena, a low strip of land lay on our right, enriched in places with clumps of trees, between which we could at intervals perceive the sea breaking on the beach and apparently threatening to rush in upon the tranquil lagoon whose smooth glassy surface formed a strong contrast to the restless waves of the ocean. The low grounds on the left were thickly covered to the very margin of the lake with woods of the richest foliage, which to us in the canoe appeared to spring from the bosom of the lagoon itself. In the background stupendous mountains are piled one above another, until they terminate in the Nevada of Santa Martha, which rises to the immense height of sixteen thousand four hundred and nineteen feet, being partly lost in the clouds, from which their peaks emerging covered with perpetual snow, form a striking contrast to the rich and dark

forests beneath, which embellished, by their irregular and diversified forms, the perpetually varying scenes that successively presented themselves during our intricate navigation through this little archipelago.

We passed a communication between the Cienega and the sea, which is navigable for barges and canoes in fine weather, and by means of which the commerce of the interior with Santa Martha is carried on. After leaving this communication on the right we found that the bank towards the sea was much broader and very closely wooded, affording cover to great numbers of tigers, whose skins may probably become an article of commerce.

About ten o'clock, by a splendid moonlight, we entered La Rinconada, a narrow canal formed by Nature. We had now

crossed the Cienega de Santa Martha, and had to make our way by poling for several hours, and, although we drew but two feet water, we sometimes grounded. At midnight we reached the Cienega Ridonda, where we made sail, but soon touched the ground; and as the wind was high, we shipped a good deal of water, which drenched me completely under the toldo, and obliged me to rise. The air was cold, and I found a blanket over my shoulders a comfortable addition to my roana. The *bogas* were all obliged to get overboard to launch the canoe along, until we reached deeper water. We now passed through the *caños*, or canals, called Ondo and Soucio, and entered the *Cienega de Quattras Bocas*, and lastly Caño Clarin, which enters a branch of the Magdalena, on the right bank of which river we arrived about eight o'clock in the morning. During my passage I shot several birds, amongst which was a species of

green parrot, esteemed good eating. There are also wild turkies, deer, tigers, and cattle to be met with; and I saw one wild bull, which dashed into the wood the moment he perceived us approaching.

A little before we entered the Magdalena, my notice was attracted by shouts and cries which proceeded from the bogas forming the crew of a large *champan*, alongside of which we presently found ourselves, the channel being barely wide enough to allow us to pass; we thus had an opportunity of witnessing the ridiculous gesticulations used by these people in the practice of their toilsome vocation. They push forward the vessel by means of poles twenty feet in length, against which they lean with their breasts, uttering a sound somewhat resembling that with which an English groom gratifies himself, while rubbing down a horse—"Huss, huss, huss;" diversifying this monotony with a variety of

cries and ejaculations, whilst they keep up a pantomime of bodily contortions, stamping, dancing, wriggling, and twisting in a thousand ludicrous postures, unutterable and inimitable, which they renew, with increased zeal, and unbounded satisfaction to themselves, the moment they perceive they have fixed the attention, or excited the laughter of strangers.

These champans hold from one thousand to one thousand two hundred quintals; one of them lay at this time at the point where we entered the Magdalena, taking in a lading of Nicaragua wood to convey to Santa Martha, thence to be exported for the European market.

Three leagues higher up the river we reached the Caño de Solidad, by which we soon arrived at the town of the same name, where we landed, and I took up my abode

at Colonel Rieux's house. Throughout the day the heat had been intolerable, unmitigated by a breath of wind; but the night was agreeably cool. This is the ordinary state of the weather here, for which reason the natives seldom stir abroad except at night.

The morning of the following day, the 24th, was spent by the Colonel in arranging the papers he would require for his duties at the meeting of congress, and his defence at his impending court-martial.

March 25th. — Rose at day-light, and mounting our horses at seven o'clock, proceeded to Baranquilla, a small village about a league from Solidad, where we passed the day with Mr. Glenn, a merchant from Canada, who had been settled here eight years; a very intelligent man, and apparently making a fair fortune. I receiv-

ed many useful hints from him; he was of opinion, that after three years' peace the trade of the country would nearly triple. He much approved the idea of steam-boats being introduced on the rivers, as a mode of conveyance which he was convinced would pay remarkably well. Baranquilla is cooler than Solidad, being more exposed to the N. E. winds. The shooting in the neighbourhood is tolerably good. Both these places are well situated, and adapted for trade, being on the bank of a navigable canal, communicating with the river. The principal export is cotton, which they exchange for Osnaburg shirting, Russia-duck, hardware, &c. These two places are the depôts for goods from Santa Martha, which boats convey thence up the river to Monpox and Honda.—This week contains so many holidays that we were unable to quit the place until Saturday the 29th, owing to the impossibility of procuring boatmen.

In the evening I returned to Solidad by moonlight, and had an interesting conversation with the Colonel on astronomical subjects, with which he seemed perfectly conversant.

March 26th. A feast-day; the bells perpetually ringing with such a deafening noise, as to prevent all reading or writing. Not a breath of air during the day, and a scorching sun. In the evening there was a procession, which consisted of the cross, decorated with white scarves and brilliantly illuminated with lamps; a large car followed, borne by fourteen men, having on it a figure intended as a representation of our Saviour, with his hands bound, and being scourged by a man dressed in the old Spanish costume, and another man as officer looking on. This was preceded by the host, and followed by the music of flutes, violins, and boys chanting. Then came a figure of St. John, the patron saint of the place, and the whole

ceremony was closed by the Virgin in full dress. A considerable number of people, consisting principally of women, followed this ridiculous show. The men, I am happy to say, are rapidly waking from the dream of error in which they have so long slumbered; and I fear not to prophesy that a short time will work a mighty and enlightening change in the religion of the country.

27th. Rode round Solidad, a place of considerable extent, built of sun-dried clay. The church is situated in the heart of the town, which is interspersed with plantain and cocoa-nut trees. The site is on an acclivity, and the number of inhabitants nearly two thousand. It was formerly a place of considerable trade, which will revive no doubt with the return of peace. I again passed the day with Mr. Glenn; and on my return in the evening met a second proces-

sion, nearly resembling the former, except in the addition of a most ludicrous figure of Grief, to close the procession; the whole proceeded towards the church, where the trappings and decorations of the pageant were deposited for the night.

28th. Good-Friday. Fish very scarce, and no meat allowed to be used; rather on short allowance; hoped the fast-days would speedily terminate. Went to church about eight o'clock in the evening with Colonel Rieux. The curate, a young man, preached with great energy and violent gesticulations in a sing-song tone. The majority of the audience was women, and the church so excessively crowded that we could only obtain entrance through the vestry, and might be said to be behind the scenes. Hence we saw a figure, represented on a cross, and intended for our Saviour, which was veiled from the rest of the congregation by a dark

curtain. The preacher having arrived at the proper part of his sermon, describing the agonies of Christ, stamped his feet, and at the second stamp the sombre veil fell from before the figure, whilst a discharge of cannon without announced the supposed convulsion of nature; and the apparently bleeding figure, surrounded by numerous lights, was suddenly exposed to the general gaze. The effect of all this performance was so successful, that many of the females shrieked and fainted. Shortly after, the figure was taken down and carried to a sepulchre gaily adorned, and having the representation of a Roman sentinel sitting on the top. After the sermon, Colonel Rieux and myself walked into the body of the church, and were immediately presented with long wax tapers, intimating the necessity of joining the procession about to pass through the town, to which we did not object, as it afforded us the opportunity of seeing the whole popula-

tion of the place, ranged on either side of the streets through which we passed. The beauty of the sex did not appear very conspicuous on this occasion. The procession was also graced by the guard of the sepulchre, dressed in white jackets, blue trowsers covered with black crape, and dark veils concealing the face. They had high conical caps with long feathers hanging over them, which only needed bells to complete the *tout ensemble,* and to afford a lively representation of Tom Fool's cap. They were armed with lances and swords. A man clothed in a white shroud was performing a penance, which consisted in keeping his arm extended as in the act of offering something contained in a glass, and intended to represent the nauseous liquor presented to our Saviour. I observed that he had a stick passing through his sleeve so as to support his arm. He, as well as the guards, marched backwards with a kind of pantomimic step.

March 29. Passed the day at Baranquilla, arranging for our departure.

At moonlight our friends accompanied us part of the way back to Solidad. We took this opportunity to try the paces of our horses, those of the country, about fourteen hands high, active, and strong on their legs. Their usual quick step is called pacing, a motion which at first shakes the rider, but to which he soon gets accustomed, and finds it agreeable. At this rate horses will go about fourteen miles an hour, and if not urged beyond their speed, travel thirty-five miles without stopping, and when turned into a court-yard with a little grass, they will refresh themselves by rolling on the sand, and after a couple of hours rest, will return the same distance without being distressed. On this occasion I witnessed the advantage of wearing spurs, and of management in riding. A race was run between two of the horses.

at the full pacing speed; one of the riders wore spurs and the other had none; the former won: afterwards they exchanged horses, and the vanquished steed now became victor. Little use was made of the spurs, the difference only consisting in the animal's consciousness of his rider's armed heel, and the skill of the horseman.

30th. Being roused in the morning by the sound of music and discharge of fire-arms in the square, I learned, on inquiry, that it was to celebrate the Resurrection, and the death of Judas Iscariot, whom I perceived hanging on a gibbet. A gay procession took place in honour of our Saviour. Meat was now permitted; and amusements of every kind commenced. In the evening I attended a ball or dance at Baranquilla, where all the young women of the country were as-

sembled, amongst whom I saw none even tolerably good-looking; whilst their dresses bespoke the poverty of the place. Spanish country-dances and waltzing were the order of the night, but both badly performed, and the music monotonous and discordant. The elder females smoked cigars and drank English beer, which is an agreeable beverage in these hot climes. The men were worse dressed than the women, being clad mostly in coloured jackets; and one man had a white handkerchief round his head, in which costume he danced during the whole evening.

31. Busied in preparations for our departure on the morrow, hoping to get under weigh.

April 1. Tom Fool's day—and we were really foiled and fooled completely, being

unable to get boatmen and bogas, whom in this country it is difficult to procure.

In order to travel in this country, it is necessary to have a small bedstead, so constructed as to be easily taken to pieces, with a *toldo* or covering of tolerably strong linen or blue check, in order to keep out the musquitoes and small sand-flies; the threads of a common musquito-net, as used in Barbadoes, not being sufficiently close to prevent the sand-flies from entering. These are to be procured at Solidad, though roughly made. Pillows, sheets, and blankets should be brought from Europe, as they are here very dear and bad. The bedstead and toldo cost only fifteen dollars, which is reasonable. I paid rather more, having persuaded the workmen, who are excessively lazy, to work on feast-day, to which they are ordinarily very averse. The traveller should likewise procure two or three dresses of

Holland sheeting, with feet of the same material, instead of stockings; the jacket loose and buttoned to the throat. The white does not attract the sun, and feels cool and agreeable, is easily washed, and will dry expeditiously by being laid on the toldo. Two straw hats are necessary; the one for lying down in the canoe, the other for various occasions; both should have broad brims. Shoes of strong holland with leather soles are most easy and agreeable to the feet, and a pair of English shooting-shoes for landing in the mud. A saddle with holsters is requisite; a sword, dirk, pair of pocket pistols, a hammock to recline in during the day, two good mats, one to lie on in the canoe, the other fitted to the sacking of the bed, to prevent the musquitoes from penetrating at night,—are amongst other needful precautions. All wine, tea, coffee, chocolate, sugar, and salt, besides dried beef, hams, tongues, live fowls, eggs, and biscuits,

with plenty of *tocino* or cured pork fat for frying eggs, should be laid in at this place, together with a sufficient stock of plantains and dried salt meat for the bogas, who are fed, as well as paid, by the traveller, and who, notwithstanding their abstemiousness at home, devour an astonishing quantity of provisions when living at the expense of others. The requisite cooking utensils are a large copper chocolate-pot, a copper vessel for making soup, another for hash and stews, a third flat one for frying eggs, two block-tin plates, three dishes, two tin cups for drinking, and a small tin measure for serving spirits to the bogas, who will not work well without a dram each morning of the anise of the country, of which a jar or two must be provided, so as to supply them throughout the journey. Knives, forks, spoons, and small duck table-cloths, about a yard square, must not be forgotten.

It is needful here to lay in a supply of small change. Dollars, quarter-dollars, reals, medias, and quartillas.

The bogas and patron being collected the previous evening at Baranquilla, were prevented from coming up to Solidad during the morning by the strength of the wind, which was excessively high. They arrived however in the evening in a champan, in which we embarked all our things in order to proceed the following morning.

Mr. Bray, a young merchant, joined our party, as he was proceeding in the same direction.

3rd. Embarked about nine o'clock this morning, leaving Colonel Rieux to follow in a piragua which he had procured; his luggage exceeding what the champan could stow. At the junction of the canal with

the river, we exchanged a cordial farewell with our kind friend, Mr. Glenn, who wished us a prosperous termination of the arduous voyage before us.

Having poled a short distance up the river, we stopped to breakfast on the left bank under some shady trees. The bogas soon kindled a fire with the dried wood found about the place. They carry a steel, flint, and yesca, a sort of vegetable tinder, the dried pith of a tree so called, which ignites with facility; over a small piece of this, when kindled, they put dry moss, leaves, and a few dead sticks; and gently blowing, a fire is speedily produced. The bogas made their breakfast in a large iron pot. It consisted of salt meat and large plantains boiled up with water. After breakfast we gave each a dram of anise of the country, to their great satisfaction. We regaled ourselves on chocolate and cold meat, which we had brought with us.

The first place we passed was Sitio Nuevo, a small village on the right bank. We poled on till sunset, and arrived at the village of Remalino, on the right bank, where we made fast our champan, and went to the house of a native, with whom Mr. Bray was accustomed to trade, where we were allowed to cook our dinner, or rather supper, and were shewn a room to sleep in. Whilst supper was preparing, we walked over this place, which is in a ruinous condition, having been, like most places in these parts, destroyed during the present civil war; for the inhabitants of this bank were more inclined to the royal cause than those of the opposite side, and therefore suffered most. In fact they are in a miserable plight, and destitute of all the comforts of life. About nine o'clock Colonel Rieux joined us, and after partaking of a substantial supper, we all retired to rest.

April 4. Rose at four o'clock, and embarking our beds, pushed on our way. At nine o'clock we stopped at Guaimaro, having only been able to gain four leagues against the current of the river. In the way shot several birds, and saw some guacherracas, a species of pheasant which is very good eating. Breakfasted at the house of the Alcalde. Finding the wind fair we sewed our blankets together to make sails, landed and cut some poles to serve as masts, rigged them, and soon found ourselves sailing agreeably up the river. These champans are not allowed sails, as they are flat-bottomed, and steer with a paddle. They are generally formed of the trunk of a single tree, having the head and stern cut in a shelving direction. They are fitted up in the same manner as the canoe in which I came from Santa Martha. I however think a sail may be used with advantage, when the wind is

fair, nearly to Monpox, beyond which the N. E. or sea breeze does not extend.

Arrived at Pañon, having sailed ten leagues, which is reckoned a good day's journey. Off Pañon we found seven gun-boats, commanded by Louis Carboniere, and filled with men armed with lances, &c. which gave them the appearance of warlike Indians. We were hailed by the commodore's boat, commanded by a sergeant, who insisted on our coming alongside, when he informed me that I must remain there for the night. Not being inclined however to lose my supper, I told him I should complain to the commodore, who was a friend of mine, unless he allowed me to proceed on shore; whereupon he permitted me to pass. On landing I immediately waited on the commodore, and when I stated my name, he gave me a cordial embrace, telling me he had served in the West Indies under my father,

Sir Alexander Cochrane, to whom he felt himself much indebted; as a proof of which he prepared an excellent repast for me. During the interval before this meal, my attention was attracted by the melancholy sound of a pipe and tabor. I walked out of the house, and found it proceeded from a circle of people, into which I was readily admitted. The noise was produced by some Indians, one of whom stood in a stooping posture playing on a long pipe, from which he drew tones, varied indeed, but without melody, whilst another sat on the ground holding between his legs a small barrel, over which a sheep-skin was stretched, so as to serve for a tabor, on which he beat a regular measure with small sticks. This music, simple as it was, seemed to delight the Indians, who were dancing round it in a manner somewhat grotesque, yet not unpleasing, with little motion, but much inclination of the body in various easy positions. At the conclusion, the per-

formers came and laid their caps at my feet, dusting my shoes, to signify, I found, that a donation was solicited; with which having complied, I retired to supper.

April 5. Started at five o'clock. Left Col. Rieux, who was unwell. Shot several guacherracas and a great many small snipes, which are particularly fine eating, fat almost to bursting, and resembling the ortolan: we fried them over the fire, basted with tocino, and ate bones and all.—At six o'clock arrived at Baranca Nueva. Called on General Montes, the commanding officer of the district, a fine young man about thirty years of age. He was dressed in a white shirt, jacket, and trowsers, and was smoking with the curate of the village. They were much pleased with the news we gave them from Europe. The General's house was no better than the generality of those of his countrymen, being very dirty, without conveniences, and having several hammocks hung

across the room for sleeping in at night, and lolling in during the day. We have been every where kindly received, and always readily provided with a room, chairs, and table: the rooms are, however, much worse than a common English barn. Our ordinary repast consisted of bread, soup, fried eggs, and sausages. At each place, for a quarter-dollar, we procured a female cook, which relieved us from all trouble on that score.

6th. Rose at four o'clock, and finding that Col. Rieux had not arrived, landed such of his things as we had, and two servants to wait for him: proceeded two leagues to breakfast. After this, we passed the first rapid, where the river ran more than a league per hour,—the general average in the centre being about two miles. Shot a monkey and some grey cranes, which latter are very good eating. A little after sunset, we were

informed by our *patron* that we could not reach any village that night, and must consequently sleep on the beach, which was by no means agreeable intelligence, as the alligators were in great numbers. Mr. Bray and myself, however, landed our beds and put them up a little to windward of a good fire. The bogas returned to the champan, and we soon fell asleep, notwithstanding the vicinity of the alligators. The wind was at this time blowing strong, which prevented any musquitoes showing themselves. About half past ten, I was awakened by a great noise, which proved to be caused by an alligator going into the water about twenty yards from the spot where we slept. Our fire had burnt out and the wind was lulled; the musquitoes had consequently made their appearance, which obliged us to rise and dust them out from under our toldos, and to secure the toldos in such a manner, by tucking them under the beds on which we slept, that

these tormenting plagues should be effectually excluded. However, though cleared of musquitoes, I could not afterwards sleep, since our fire was out, and our alligator friends so near.

7th. Rose at four o'clock, not much refreshed. Saw the track of an alligator within ten yards of our bed, and at thirty yards distance saw five together. Men sleeping on mats on the beach, under their toldos, have been carried off by these gentry, but we have not heard of this accident occurring to any who have slept in beds,—which was our only consolation, knowing that, in all probability the same scene would so often occur to us. At the first village we bought some tolerably good river-fish called boca-chicas.

Breakfasted in the champan; the post-office canoe passed us here, going down

with the mail to Carthagena. Crossed the river to avoid a rapid, which was running four knots an hour. Landed to cut wood under a bank; no air, the heat almost intolerable. At eight in the evening arrived at Plato, a small town, which has not suffered much by the war. It has the privilege of a city,—and a common council.

We were going up to the judge, to request him to order us a night's lodging, when Manuel Toro, a merchant of the place, came and civilly offered us such accommodation as his house could afford.

8th. Rose at half-past three and continued our way. Went eleven leagues this day, then moored, supped, and slept, but were much annoyed by musquitoes, which got under our toldos in spite of all our precautions. About midnight a tremendous noise awoke me, when, jumping up, I seized my

fire-arms, which I always kept under my head, and called to the bogas to know what caused the sounds I heard. They said it was only alligators plunging into the water in search of prey. They considered the place so safe that they were sleeping on their mats covered with their toldos.

9th. Rose at five. At eight I passed the river Cauca, which joins the Magdalena a league below the little village of Pinto. The Cauca appeared as broad as the Magdalena, and winds far into the country. It rises in the Sierra Nevada, in the district of Popayan, and runs on the west side of the Cordillera of Quindia, nearly parallel with the Magdalena, which flows on the east side.—At Pinto, procured stock to continue our journey, which we did, breakfasting in the canoe to save time, and cooking in the stern of the vessel by lighting a fire in the midst of a box filled with sand, and placed

on stones, to serve as a fireplace. At three P.M. passed the bed of a river now dry, called Patico, and arrived at Santa Anna at six o'clock, having performed nine leagues. Obtained immediate admittance into a house, and found a very attentive hostess, who received us kindly, cooked our supper, and would have allowed us to depart without making her any compensation, to receive which she would hardly get up when we started in the morning.

CHAPTER III.

MONPOX—SAN PABLO—SAN BARTHOLOMEO.

April 10th. Rose at five. At noon the city of Monpox appeared in sight. It is pleasantly situated on the left bank of the river, and has a neat and cleanly appearance at a distance, the houses being white, with red roofs; but on a nearer approach, the neat appearance is exchanged for the general distresssed look of Spanish cities. In approaching the place, there is nothing indicating prosperity, opulence, or population. We did not even meet with a canal, and only found a few large champans at anchor, waiting to proceed the following day to Arocaño,

a four days' journey, from whence they were to bring eight hundred men destined to carry on the war against Morales. Having landed, we called on some friends of Mr. Bray, and immediately procured a house for our baggage and for sleeping in. We then set about procuring a *piragua*, a patron, and five bogas, to carry us on to Honda.

11th. This city has an agreeable walk, the whole extent of the banks of the river; and at the higher extremity is shaded with trees, under which the market is held, the canoes bringing the produce of the country into the very midst of the market. Passing this, we found men busily employed in constructing champans for the commerce of the river. We went to see the piragua fitting up for us, which was quite new, commodious, and well adapted for the voyage. We agreed to pay fifty dollars for the use of it. To the patron we gave sixteen dollars, and

twelve to each of the five bogas who agreed to accompany us. Rode round Monpox, and went to the top of the principal church, whence I had a good view of the city and surrounding country. The former is about half a league long and three hundred yards broad. The only decent-looking houses are in the centre, which is very small; the rest are mere sheds, inhabited by the lower classes. They are however well laid out; the streets of a good breadth and crossing each other at right angles. The population of this place is about ten thousand persons; it formerly contained eighteen thousand; but the miseries of an exterminating civil war have reduced the inhabitants to the present number. The country surrounding the city is entirely in a state of nature; I could not discover a cultivated spot near the place; all was rich and luxuriant, but not through the labour of man. The chief exports are corn, hides, and Brazil-wood. The inhabit-

ants possess all the trade of the river up to Honda. They take in return European commodities and articles of luxury. I dined several times with Señor Valilla, a merchant, who showed us much attention, and desired us to consider his house as our own during our stay. The party usually consisted of himself, his wife, and son, Mr. Bray and myself.

The first course at dinner was vermicelli or bread soup, then followed a large silver dish containing boiled beef, with fowls, sausages, a variety of vegetables, cabbages, greens, calivansas (a kind of peas) or any others in season; then hashes, stews, &c. At this time slices of melons, and saucers of olives were placed on the table. Afterwards a kind of beef à-la-mode, and lastly fish. Wine, chiefly a light claret, or inferior Catalonian, is taken at pleasure, and sometimes old Spanish brandy with water. After

this a remove of fruit and sweetmeats appears; and the company having taken a few glasses of wine with this dessert, usually rise, and adjourning to the outside of the house, loll on chairs, leaning against the wall, and conversing with such passengers as they are acquainted with. The dinner takes place at three o'clock; and at about eight in the evening, a supper, consisting of the remains of the dinner, with the addition of some preserves, and a cup of chocolate, is served up; after which water is invariably handed round in a large silver tankard. We were amused by observing the exertions of the natives, who go up the river a short distance from the town, and return swimming down the stream, notwithstanding the numbers of alligators which infest it, and which they scare away by kicking, striking, and splashing as much as possible, and hallooing loudly to increase the noise.

In the evening the tailor brought home the leathern dresses we had ordered, conceiving them well adapted to wear over our holland dresses, to keep off the musquitoes, which became more numerous at a short distance from this place, being beyond the influence of the sea-breeze, the ceasing of which within a day and a half's journey of Monpox leaves the heat of that spot equal perhaps to that of any part of the world. The leather, however, procured at this place proved too thin, and too liable to crack, for the purpose. I would recommend all travellers under the necessity of going up these rivers in canoes, to provide themselves with dresses of the lightest and most pliable leather to be had in Europe. This tailor demanded a third more than he gladly accepted afterwards, which leads me to caution every one who may have to employ native mechanics, to make his agreement in the first instance.

Monpox is the grand rendezvous of the bogas, whose numbers on the banks of this river amount to nearly ten thousand. The laws relating to this class of people are very bad, and worse administered. Hence they frequently dictate terms to travellers, whose money they are authorized to take in the first instance, and often desert them when at the distance of a day or two's journey from the city. It is however under the consideration of the legislature to institute a code of laws for their government, in which it is to be hoped they will set the example of equity by relieving them from the compulsory public duty carried on upon the principle established by the Spaniards, under which system these men, on any public emergency, are seized and carried to prison under a guard until they are required; or else are arrested, torn from the bosom of their families, and sent on some unexpected service; nor are the hardships of the

case alleviated by the hopes of reward, as the government affords only a scanty allowance of food on these occasions. Hence the only chance the traveller has must depend on liberal payment, and on obtaining by recommendation an honest patron, who will select the least villainous of the bogas. Steam-boats will be of inestimable value in this country.

Monday, April 14. Embarked our luggage at daylight, and left Monpox at eight o'clock, after having had a great deal of trouble with the patron, bogas, and even with his excellency the governor, who sent an order for us to take five passengers, which we positively refused to do. One of the intended voyagers, a non-commissioned officer, got into the piragua, and I had some trouble in turning him out. At sunset we made fast our piragua at Santa Margarita, a small village only five leagues

from Monpox; the country we had passed, from about a mile and half from Monpox, is tolerably well cultivated for about two hundred yards in breadth, and had abundance of orange, lemon, and *nispero* trees in full bearing; likewise great quantities of plantains, the main article of consumption among the lower classes. The plantain is the most common and most prolific tree of the country; it grows to the height of twenty or thirty feet,—the stem of a peculiarly juicy texture; the leaves are large, and have a graceful appearance, waving with the slightest motion of the air, and cheering the weary traveller with the prospect of human habitation, and the probable supply of his wants. The fruit hangs in clusters with a graceful curve; there are in general only two or three bunches of fruit on each tree. A single blow from a strong arm, with a good *machetta*, usually brings the tree down, when the fruit

is gathered, and the stem and branches are left to rot, whilst the juices thus prevented from ascending, push out new scions, each of which becomes a separate tree. Hence, when once planted, this tree is perpetuated, and requires no further care.

On landing, I called on the curate of the place, a fat, good-humoured man, who received me very kindly, and inquired after all foreign news. In his house I found myself free from musquitoes, but could not sleep on account of the excessive heat, the door being bolted by the curate's orders, and not a window in the room. I suppose the thermometer stood at 100°, as I never found the heat so oppressive at Monpox, when the thermometer in the shade was on the average at 96°.

15th. Set off at daylight, minus a boga, who thought proper to run away, and return

to Monpox, immediately on his landing last night. We expected to get him punished, as his family resided there, and we intended writing to the Juez Politico, who regulates such matters.

Travelling in a piragua presented inconveniences which had not occurred on board the canoe. The toldo of bamboo being made sufficiently strong, three of the bogas were stationed upon it, whose trampling disturbed us extremely, whilst the dust and dirt it occasioned to fall through obliged us to pin up a sheet to keep it from our heads. In the mean time the piragua, necessarily keeping close in-shore, came every instant in contact with the brushwood growing from the trees by the river side, and dislodged myriads of musquitoes, which covered our vessel, and tormented us with their merciless attacks.

Our leather dresses were, indeed, a slight protection against these persevering and relentless enemies, but the intolerable heat soon compelled us to lay them aside; after which we adopted gauze dresses, made according to the recommendation of Baron Humboldt, exceedingly full, stiffly starched, and standing out to a considerable distance. In this costume, with a large veil of the same material covering my head, and secured by tucking in round my waist, I found some relief; but even thus equipped, was invariably attacked wherever the pressure of my body brought the dress close to the skin. I squeezed many of these torturing insects to death, as they were penetrating under the ligature which confined the jacket and trowsers round the waist. On the whole, however, the protection afforded by this expedient was such, as to enable me to amuse myself with reading, and divert my

attention from these winged persecutors to some Spanish works I had brought with me in order to improve my knowledge of the language.

In the evening we were obliged to take up our abode on a sandy beach, such as are occasionally met with in going up. The patron and bogas had, during the day, behaved extremely ill: and indeed we several times debated on the expediency of returning to Monpox. I suppose their conduct originated in our turning the non-commissioned officer out of the piragua, as we afterwards found he was a friend of the patron. I slept most comfortably, having excluded all musquitoes, and there was an agreeable air which made it almost cold enough for a blanket. The bogas formed a little encampment with their toldos; their method of arranging their sleeping-places is as follows: two poles, generally those be-

longing to the canoe, or the paddles, are stuck into the ground at about eight feet apart; a line is extended between them, passed through the tape loops of the toldo, and drawn taught; this leaves the toldo hanging from the line. The boga then creeps in under the toldo, places a stick about four feet long horizontally at each end, to keep the cloth stretched out, and tucks the side and ends of the toldo under his mat, on which he lies secure from the musquitoes; but I must say, having tried it myself, that a sandy shore makes but a very hard bed.

April 16. Rose before day-light; the morning agreeably cool. We were obliged to promise the patron that we would hire another man to supply the place of the run-away. At this moment we were in sight of high mountains, whose dark appearance afforded an agreeable relief to the unvarying greenish hue that surrounded us. In the

evening we landed at a small village, called Piñon, where we engaged two bogas in the room of the one we had lost; but we afterwards took only one of them; and before paying him, requested the patron to inform us of the different stages we were to make, so as to be at Honda in fifteen days. As he enumerated them we wrote them down, and on summing up found they formed twenty-seven resting-places instead of the fifteen agreed on; as we could not persuade him to shorten the time, and as he seemed to be a perfect rascal, who would most likely leave us at a town to which he was carrying some goods for sale, we determined to proceed no farther with him.

April 17. At six o'clock embarked, and as soon as we had pushed off from the shore, obliged the patron to bear up and run down the river to Monpox, where we arrived about sunset, and immediately put a guard

on board. I then waited on the Juez Politico, and made my complaint to him. He sent for the patron, told him he had behaved improperly, and that he must return the money he had received, which he promised to do the following morning. With respect to the bogas, he said he would endeavour to recover the money paid them by us, but that there was no law by which they could be punished, and that consequently he could do no more for us, much as he wished it. Our luggage was landed, the patron and bogas released, and we returned to our old habitation, to the great surprise of our friend Valilla, whom we found sitting at his door, according to the custom of the country.

18th. In the morning we waited on the Juez Politico, who sent for the patron, and ordered him to refund the money he had received; on which he tendered ten dollars, and promised to bring the rest at a future

time, which the judge told him he must do, instead of taking decisive compulsory means, which we could not prevail on him to do.—We had little hopes of getting more, and were only surprised at the partial success we had, perceiving how justice was administered here. Three of the bogas had likewise decamped, so that we calculated the whole loss to be fifty-eight dollars. We now engaged a patron particularly well recommended, who selected four new hands, with the intention of starting the following morning. We found that our friend Col. Rieux had arrived during our absence, and also Mrs. English, widow of General English, who fought and died in the defence of the liberty of the Republic; likewise Messrs. Miranda and Wilson, who were preparing to depart the next day, in a very large champan or bongo, where they could hang up seven hammocks, and thereby avoid the torment of the musquitoes, by having mus-

quito nets fitted for their hammocks, a great advantage in these large boats, which are, however, enormously expensive, requiring thirteen hands. The whole expense of such a conveyance from Monpox to Honda, attended by a baggage-boat, amounts to nearly 1,200 dollars,* including provisions for oneself, bogas, &c.

I found all parties perfectly well, and in the evening went with my friend Mr. Bray, and passed the evening with Mrs. English. This meeting with a few of my own countrymen in the depths of a South American wilderness, had an inexpressible charm and pleasure; our conversation on matters familiar to all, contrasted with our daily intercourse with foreigners, seemed to render us all one family; and whilst it brought our own native land forcibly to mind, annihilated the space that divided us from it. I found Mrs.

* A dollar equal to 4s. 2d. British.

English a lively, pleasing, intelligent woman; the contrast of whose fair features and dark glossy tresses, with the swarthy complexion and neglected locks of the Colombian women, was greatly to the advantage of this lady in particular, and our countrywomen in general, who are as unrivalled in personal delicacy as in form and complexion. The evening was most agreeable, and its recollection will long remain impressed on my memory.

19th. Began to embark our luggage at daylight, but had a great deal of trouble with the two bogas remaining of the original set, who were so insolent and refractory, refusing to work and insisting on drink, that I was under the necessity (on a hint I had received from authority) to take the law into my own hands, and not only gave one of them a sound drubbing, but afterwards got him

sent to prison, whence I suppose he was released almost as soon as my back was turned. I do not, however, recommend the former mode of proceeding, as it irritates the whole gang, who become sullen and vindictive. The best way is to talk in a formidable manner, and put up with as much as possible. We got under weigh, however, about eleven o'clock, but decidedly against the will of the patron and bogas, who wished to remain until Monday, to enjoy the intervening holidays. Bribes were, however, successful; but the bogas who were to carry up Mrs. English's party in the champan, were too numerous to treat in this manner; and absolutely refusing to go, the party were compelled to remain until Monday.

The civil administration of this part of Colombia is so bad, that unless steam-boats

are adopted, or a code of laws made and enforced for the government of these men, many persons will be prevented from trading or travelling in the country.

Stopped for the night at San Fernando, having only gone four leagues.

Sunday, 20th. Rose at day-light to renew our journey. Found that the only boga of the original crew had absconded, and had enticed away with him one of the new comers. Wrote by an express to the Juez Politico, desiring to have them taken up if possible. We had now two bogas to hire, to take us to Piñon, where we expected to procure the number we required.

San Fernando is a pretty spot: the different cottages forming the village are each embowered in groups of trees, so that each has, at a distance, the appearance of a

separate quinta.* The curate has chosen a good situation, but art and industry have done nothing to improve it.

21st. The bogas worked better, and we had hopes of getting in without further delay. Stopped to sleep at a cottage on the left bank. We supped in the open air, under some trees, through the branches of which the rays of the moon, which shone remarkably bright, played on the little bench which served us for a table; on either side of this, Mr. Bray and myself, in our leathern armour, sat perched on two high stools, quite disproportionate to the table, alternately supping a spoonful of soup and flapping away the musquitoes and sand-flies with our dusters,† whilst we cast every minute

* A quinta is a country-house of any dimensions or style.

† A duster is a piece of cocoa, split at the end into long threads.

an anxious glance at our toldos, which, stationed under the porch of the cottage, reminded us of the torments we might expect for the night. Our supper, consisting of soup, and a fowl fried in lard, was served by the sleek mistress of one of the cottages; and as we took it in the awkward style I have described, the bogas stood round laughing and making remarks, whilst a dozen yelping dogs contended with each other for every bone we threw down. We drank a liquor called guarapo, (made from cakes of brown sugar, seasoned with lemon-peel,) resembling, though inferior to, fresh-made cider. With this the bogas, who are very fond of it, intoxicate themselves.—Saw during the day, a large snake, whose sting is instant death, sleeping on one of the branches of a tree, overhanging the river. It was knocked into the water by one of the bogas, with a blow of his pole. Arrived

at Piñon at sunset, and engaged the required number of bogas.

Tuesday, 22d. Left Piñon at six in the morning with six good bogas, every thing going on favourably. We approached fast to the mountains of the interior, which enlivened the scene. Considerable difficulty in poling along the shore; the depth of the river increasing from the draining of the water from the mountains. Frequently obliged to lay the poles in and haul along by the trees. We now came to a rapid, when we had to land some of the bogas, to carry out a hawser, by which they hauled the canoe, while those who remained continued poling, and kept her head from being carried out by the stream. Considerable dexterity is requisite in the management of these canoes; for if once the stream is allowed to catch the head of the canoe, it will be turned round,

hurried into the midst of the current, where no pole will reach the ground, and rapidly carried down the stream a considerable distance, before the oars can be got out to enable it to regain the bank. This poling work is apparently a great exertion, yet from habit the bogas are enabled to continue it from six in the morning until sunset, resting only one hour, when they take their meal. At seven in the evening we moored our canoe, and landed our beds on a sandy island. Immediately on our landing, I observed a duck, which I shot. From eight to half-past nine, several flocks of ducks flew past the island, out of which we provided a good supper for ourselves and the bogas, which we enjoyed by moonlight. About half-past three in the morning I was awakened by a loud peal of thunder, and looking out from the toldo, observed a tremendous black cloud, covering nearly the whole expanse of sky before us, and rapidly

sweeping on towards us; whilst the moon, which it had not yet obscured, increased the awfulness of the effect by the contrast afforded by its brilliancy, as did the clear blue sky immediately surrounding. Forked lightning rapidly succeeded, and all prognosticated an impending storm. I roused Mr. Bray, and calling up the patron, consulted him on what was to be done. He said we should presently have heavy rain, as the wet season was about to commence; but did not consider that the island would be flooded: at all events, promised to let us know in time. Mr. Bray retired on board the piragua; I preferred remaining on shore under my toldo. I now made use of my *incerado*, a cotton cloth, covered with a composition of rosin and wax, sewed upon mats. Scarcely had I got this fixed, when the rain descended in torrents, accompanied with the loudest thunder and most vivid lightning I ever witnessed. The water rose

rapidly around me,—my incerado soon proved inadequate to keep out the rain, which rapidly penetrating this insufficient shelter, dripped through at various chinks, compelling me to shift my position in every possible way, until, finding the wet pouring through in all directions, I hailed my companion, to inquire how he was situated on board the piragua, and upon his describing his plight, as precisely similar to my own, I relinquished all idea of resistance to the elements, and wrapping up in the blankets, abandoned myself to the mercy of the rain. I was soon drenched completely, whilst the thunder and lightning continued in the most tremendous manner during the remainder of the night. We were much delighted when day dawned, at which time the rain began to abate.

23rd. Began to move at a little before six o'clock; were in a most uncomfortable

plight; took an extra glass of anise* to counteract the effects of the wet, and made a hearty breakfast of a stew of the ducks we killed the previous evening, and dried our clothes and bedding as soon as the sun appeared. Passed two villages during the day, and slept at a place called Rio Viejo. Around the houses of these villages grow considerable numbers of gourds, or calabash trees;—they have a very graceful appearance, their branches at a short distance from the earth bending over from the centre in elegant curves, enriched with small leaves. Some of the fruit is of a long, and some of a round shape. Those of an oblong shape are cut when ripe, scooped out, and serve

* I beg particularly to recommend travellers to take a glass of anise every morning at daybreak, as I did; it has a strong tendency to keep off the intermitting fever of the country, by fortifying the stomach. This liquor is extracted by distillation from cane juice and aniseed mixed.

as bottles for holding water, and for all domestic purposes. In preparing those of a globular form, they tie a string round the centre, and with a mallet beat it into the gourd, which it divides; they hollow it out neatly, and leave the sun to harden it. Those of the former description are sold at a *media*, and those of the latter at a *quartilla*, being respectively equal to threepence, and three-halfpence, of our money.

Thursday, 24th. Worked hard all day to reach Morales, but did not arrive there until an early hour on Friday morning, 25th. Here it is customary to allow the men a day's rest; in consequence of which, Mr. Bray and myself, after having ordered the provisions necessary for the continuance of the journey, hired a guide, and set off for a neighbouring lagoon, which we were informed was tolerably well stocked with game; but on reaching it, found it so ex-

posed that we could scarcely get a shot. I succeeded only in killing two *chaverias**, or wild turkeys, two wild ducks, and some small sandlings. I must say the place would not tempt me to go again: perhaps a tremendous thunder-storm, in which we were caught, and completely drenched to the skin, (there being no shelter whatever,) might have given me this distaste for the place. After enduring the "pitiless pelting of the storm" until we were as wet as if soaked in a river, it ceased, and taking off our clothes, and wringing them, we put them on again, and continued our sport.

In the evening we walked about the town, which is a miserable place; it is, however,

* These birds are larger than the ordinary domestic turkey, and stronger limbed; they have a fine eye, and handsome tuft of feathers on the top of the head, which is erected or depressed at pleasure; the neck purple, the bill very hard and strong, the bird fat, and tolerably good eating.

well situated, and has a handsome row of cocoa-trees along the banks of the river. In all these towns there seems to be a great want of medicines, and medical men; not a physician or surgeon is to be found, and thousands perish, or become helpless for life, for want of necessary aid and remedies in the beginning of their illness. Ulcerated legs appear to be the general evil, and they are bad in the extreme, rendering many a fine young fellow a burthen to his family for life.

Saturday, 26th. Continued our tedious journey at an early hour. At eight o'clock the clergyman of Morales passed us in a small canoe, on his way to Padrilla, where he said he had to preach on Sunday. We slept this night on a sandy beach.

Sunday, 27th. At eight o'clock arrived at Padrilla, saw our friend the clergyman,

procured what we wanted, and proceeded. Slept at a cottage with tolerable comfort, having excluded the musquitoes from the inside of our toldos.

Monday, 28th. Much inconvenienced by the musquitoes; obliged to sit all day in our musquito dresses; the air most oppressive; stopped at sunset on an island in the midst of the river. Thunder and vivid lightning prognosticated another storm. The rain obliged us to prepare for sleeping on board, which we attempted to do, wrapped up in our musquito dresses. The first part of the night was almost insufferable from the excessive heat; but after the rain began to fall, the air was somewhat cooled, and we got some little sleep, although much incommoded by the bogas forcing their way in under the toldo, to avoid the rain, to which we were obliged passively to submit. They were, however, useful in baling out the

water from the forepart of the canoe, which would have otherwise risen over the cant or batten which separated the part allotted to us from the other.

29th. Delighted when morning dawned, and the sun rising brought us a clear day, —cool and without musquitoes, forming a great contrast to the miserable night we had passed. At four o'clock in the evening we arrived at the village of Pablo, where I immediately commenced purchasing stock enough to last us four days, as there is no other market until reaching Saint Bartholomew. Found every thing double the price it bore at Morales, and was informed that as we proceeded we should find provisions increase in cost. San Pablo is like other villages, only a little cleaner, the soil being very gravelly, and the inhabitants spreading a little of the gravel round the cottages; but inside they are no better than those of the other villages.

These cottages usually stand upon a parallelogram, from about thirty to thirty-five feet by sixteen, half of which is the kitchen, or general rendezvous of the family, and the remainder divided into two compartments; that next the kitchen being the sleeping-room of the married people, through which the bed-room of the young females is entered. The kitchen has an entrance on each side, and is sometimes entirely open, though occasionally cased up with mud walls or bamboo. The timbers, uprights, and rafters, are of the roughest description, consisting of unhewn posts and poles; the door is a piece of wood roughly shaped with the *machetta,** lashed together

* This instrument is of general use, and great advantage, the blade something like that of a ship's cutlass, only broader, and curved towards the point, made of wrought iron which will bend, but not break; the handles are usually of wood or horn, rivetted to the iron; the back is thick, and the edge kept sharp. It is used for a great

with thongs, and covered with a hide stretched, and the frame laced firmly on the inside with leather thongs. All around the house, a space between the roof and the side walls is left open for the admission of air. In one corner of the kitchen is the fire-place, and generally diagonally opposite the entrance of the principal sleeping-room, in which are usually found two large jars, one filled with *chicha*, the other with *guarapo*. The young men of the family sleep in the kitchen, either in hammocks or on mats.

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variety of purposes, serving for knife, axe, bill, and sometimes for a sword. The bogas take a pride in having these instruments handsomely sheathed in cases of stamped leather, adorned at the top with a fringe, and at the point with a kind of tassel of the same material. The best *machettas* come from Germany, though many are manufactured at Birmingham: they ought to be twenty-seven inches long, two inches and a quarter in breadth, having three canals down the blade, and sun, moon, and stars. The general price in the country is about twelve reals, or a dollar and a half.

The other rooms contain rude frames, on which large bullocks' hides are stretched, and serve as beds. The covering merely consists of a toldo, old cloak, or other garment; they all sleep under musquito toldos, without which, even the natives cannot obtain rest. The roof is usually thatched with palm trees; there are no windows or chimneys; the light is admitted by the doors, and the smoke escapes through the same apertures as in our Irish cabins.

At day-light several canoes left the village, each containing two men and several dogs, for the purpose of hunting swine in the neighbouring woods, where they abound, having, as the natives state, been produced from stray domestic animals of the species. This kind of sport is not always unattended with danger; for I was informed by these hunters of a fatal accident which had happened a few days

before. A party of six hunters had gone out on an expedition of this kind, when they fell in with a herd of the swine, upon which four of them, less experienced than the rest, immediately fired, when the swine advanced fiercely to attack them. The four young men, intimidated, took to flight without warning their companions, or considering the danger to which they were exposed; they climbed up into some trees, but the other two were quickly surrounded by the swine: they made a long and desperate defence with their lances, but were at length dragged down, when one of them was torn to pieces, and the other most dreadfully lacerated, and left for dead, by the swine; these watched the four fugitives in the trees till sunset, when, probably yielding to the calls of hunger, they retired. The surviving hunters then came down, assisted their wounded companion into the canoe, and carried off the remains

of the unfortunate man who had fallen in this horrible manner. The cowardly conduct of these youths in deserting their friends, was severely and justly censured by the villagers.—The river had increased considerably during the night, which doubled the difficulty of our voyage. Passed several cocoa plantations, which appear to be in a flourishing state, the soil being particularly rich; but capital and labourers seem much wanted. They are generally close to the water's edge, in low, moist grounds, and are grown under the shade of large forest trees, which are left to protect them from the rays of the sun. The form of the tree is that of an old standard apple-tree. The fruit grows dispersedly on short stalks over the stem and main branches; and in the month of April, when I saw it, was of a reddish-purple colour. After cutting the fleshy rind, which is half an inch thick, you reach a whitish pulp, of the

consistence of butter, in which you generally find deposited five and twenty seeds. These, if taken just before they are ripe, afford a good preserve. Each tree yields between two and three pounds of fruit annually. The usual times of gathering are in the months of June and December. The chocolate of the Magdalena is particularly esteemed for its fine quality, and there is a greater demand for it than can be supplied; but it is hoped that enterprising cultivators will introduce a spirit of greater industry to these shores, so as not only to meet the demand of the country, but raise sufficient for a considerable exportation to other parts of the world.

At sunset stopped at a small cottage, having only advanced five leagues, the current having become very strong. We were very kindly received by the owner of the cottage, an old hunter, whom we found sur-

rounded by a number of formidable dogs, that would certainly have attacked us but for his interference, and must be a very sufficient protection against nightly marauders. He informed us that he lived chiefly by the sale of the flesh of the wild swine, which he obtained by the chace, and cured. It is very superior to the flesh of the domestic animals, which are ill fed, and have a rancid flavour. When he determined on a hunt, he used to form a party with two or three others, and then set out with a number of dogs, and several canoes, for five days, during which they generally killed fourteen or fifteen swine per day. The larger dogs will bring down the game themselves, to the number of two or three a day. The smaller ones will keep one of the most formidable boars at bay, whilst the hunter creeps behind, and, watching his opportunity, throws his lance with such vigour as to pin the animal to the earth,

when he rushes upon him, seizes the lance firmly with one hand, and despatches him with his *machetta* in the other.

May 1st. Obliged to delay our departure a little, on account of a heavy thunder-storm, accompanied with much rain: as soon as this abated, we continued our progress, but the rain did not entirely cease till noon, when the sun made his appearance, and brought us a cool and agreeable afternoon, free from musquitoes. We found the continual pastime of lying down in the canoe very tedious, and were much annoyed by the noise of the bogas, who accompany their work with a variety of uncouth sounds, stamping also most violently at intervals on the toldo over our heads, on which four were usually stationed to work, the other two being on the part before us. Every time they stopped to take their meals, one of them uttered a prayer, and invoked not only the

Virgin, and all the Saints in the calendar, but many more of their own invention, praying for a prosperous voyage, and safe return to their families; they bestow also on such as have incurred their displeasure a variety of opprobrious epithets, at the end of which they cross themselves thrice with great rapidity; first, on the forehead; secondly, on the nose and cheeks; and lastly, from the top of the head to the waist; at the same time pronouncing Amen. They thus burlesque a custom which they would, nevertheless, think it wrong to omit, and which no doubt originated in piety. Slept at a cottage, where a poor young woman was suffering excruciating pain from a whitlow, which she was ignorant how to treat. I made her a poultice, with the addition of a little sweet oil, and applied it myself, giving her directions how to proceed.

2d. This morning the mother of the young woman, who had experienced some

relief, came to thank me, and offered me a few eggs and tomatas, being all she had, which of course I declined. The river worse than ever; no change of scene. Obliged to sleep on a small spot, cleared by some former travellers, where we foolishly trusted to the appearance of the night, and to our *incerados*. About one o'clock the thunder and lightning commenced, and at two o'clock the rain came down in torrents, and soon completely drenched us, our bedding, and clothes.

3d. We wished to dry our bedding, &c. but the bogas said that if we would not detain them there, we might reach a house a little after sunset. At sunset, however, we found our friends quietly beginning to make fast the canoe for the night, to a tree: we consequently had a violent quarrel, and succeeded in forcing them on, by which means we arrived at ten o'clock at a com-

fortable dwelling, with a good shed, under which we slept.

May 4th. The bogas requested time to dry their mats, which we agreed to, that we might also have the opportunity of drying our bedding, &c. They then complained that they had no meat, which we told them was their own fault, for neglecting to buy it at Morales, where we offered them money: we gave them, however, half a pig on their promising to proceed: and then cleaned the piragua, and put every thing to rights. As soon as they had made their feast of the pig, which they roasted, they wished to break their agreement; but we forced them on in the hope of reaching St. Bartholomew's on the following evening. We here procured a branch of the shrub called *alumbre*, by putting about eight inches of the stem of which into water, it causes all the mud and earth held in solution,

to sink to the bottom, and leaves the water sweet and clear. We likewise procured some green *papa*-apples, in order to rub over recently-killed meat, to make it tender.

We passed a champan going down the river, being the first we had seen since leaving Monpox, which shows how little traffic there is at present on the river. In the evening, made fast to the root of a tree, in the centre of the river, the fibres of which rose high above our heads, and were overrun by creepers, which had sprung up from the earth left about the roots, forming a beautiful natural bower. Here we slept free from musquitoes, and enjoyed an agreeable coolness, which required a blanket.

5th. At earliest dawn passed a rapid, where we were obliged to make one of

the bogas take the tow-rope in his mouth, and partly by swimming, partly by hauling by the trees, pass the rapid, and make fast the rope at a sufficient distance to allow us to haul through it; by which means we cleared this rapid. The bogas complained much of the state of the river, and were very desirous to stop until the water should fall, to which we would not consent. About four o'clock, in turning a point, we suddenly came in sight of two large champans, made fast under a high bank. They had been detained four days, and absent from Monpox twenty-eight. They were laden with French wines and dry goods, intended for the capital. The chief owner was a Frenchman named Le Blanc, the other a native of the island of Curaçoa. We purchased a quantity of claret, both in cases, and demijohns; and our newly-formed acquaintances serenaded us with music in the evening; which had a pecu-

liarly pleasing effect, floating on the water, and re-echoed by the woods on the opposite bank. They were stationed in a little cove, where they had cleared the brushwood from a space between the water and the bank, upon which they formed a curious encampment, the bustle and grouping of which, in this remote solitude, had a singular appearance. They had left several trees standing, to which their hammocks were suspended in various directions, whilst the many poles of their canoes stood fixed in the earth, supporting clothes hung to dry, and a variety of other articles. Some of the men were amusing themselves at different games, others mending toldos, &c.; forming altogether, with their rude dresses, the wild scenery, and the champans, a picture not unlike some of Salvator Rosa's groupes of banditti. At sunset, *anise* was served out to all the men of the three parties, by filling *totumas*, a kind of calabash or

gourd, with the liquor, which was then intrusted to the patron, to whom the men advanced one by one, each taking the *totuma* in his hands and supping the liquor, which they appeared to divide in this manner pretty fairly, and with much jocoseness and good humour. This being concluded, they assembled on the toldos of the champans, and commenced singing. Their songs were extempore compositions, and consisted chiefly of satirical verses, levelled at each other; some of them not destitute of humour, as appeared by the violent bursts of laughter they excited. The effect of all this was increased at night, previously to the moon's rising, by the blazing of two or three large fires which were lighted.

6th. Previously to casting off from the bank, one boga in each set, assuming the clerical function, recited a prayer for the

prosperity of our voyage, in which their emulation in striving who should name the greatest number of saints, whether canonized by the church, or by themselves, was highly diverting. The river continued very difficult, and we made little progress, although the men worked well. We saw several snakes hanging on the boughs of the trees, whither they seem to retire to sleep, being secure from their enemies; at one of them a boga struck with his pole, and knocked it into the fire-place of our champan. The patron, who was sitting in the stern, and knew the reptile to be of the most venomous kind, under the impulse of terror leaped on the toldo, whilst the reptile, finding its quarters much too warm, made a spring which carried it into the water, and relieved us from our apprehensions. We slept this night alongside the river, but enjoyed little rest, from the multitudes of musquitoes which assailed us.

7th. Thought the river began to decrease. We hoped to reach St. Bartholomew's; but we performed in three days, only a common day's journey. Gathered some wild pumpkins, of excellent flavour, in a meadow inside a low bank, which was entirely filled with them. After this we frequently met with them. My friend suffered much from the effect produced by the ordinary food of the river, and by want of exercise. This should be guarded against by opening medicine, which the traveller should not fail to take with him. At half-past four o'clock arrived at San Bartholomew's, and were particularly well received by the administrator of tobacco, Miguel Navarro, who gave up his house to us, and took great pains in procuring us every necessary we stood in need of.

8th. Much refreshed by a good night's rest. One of the bogas taken ill, but we

were rather inclined to think he was shamming a little. He was very anxious to procure a certificate of sickness, and be allowed to return to Monpox, to which we refused our consent, informing him that, as he could not work, he must do the duty of cook.

In the afternoon we endeavoured to explore the village, but found it impossible to get out of the street in which we were, all the others being under water from the late rise of the river, which was now receding. The village, however, seemed to be but of small extent, and the church is in ruins.

CHAPTER IV.

NARIE.—ALLIGATORS.—HONDA.—GUADUAS.—BOGOTA'.

May 9th. WEIGHED shortly after day-break, and left the two champans. I bought a javelin, with which one of the bogas had the day before killed an alligator, by darting it from a distance through his side whilst sleeping, and pinning him to the ground. This weapon is of very hard wood, and when thrown with force, will pierce even the hard scale of this animal's back. The river decreasing, we slept on a sandy beach without being attacked by the musquitoes; but a number of small ants, from the trunk of a tree close to our beds, annoyed us excessively.

May 10th. Beautiful morning. The river rapidly decreasing. Passed a small village called Garapata, agreeably situated, and in much better order than St. Bartholomew's. At sunset, stopped to sleep on the beach, and no sooner had I got my bed up, the night promising fair, than the wind shifted, and it commenced raining. I immediately got my things on board, and prepared for a tempestuous night. The musquitoes made their appearance in thousands. Suddenly a most tremendous thunder-storm commenced, accompanied with a vast quantity of forked lightning. One thunder-bolt fell within fifteen yards of us, and we thought it had struck the boat, but it proved to have fallen on an adjacent bank, and carried away part of it. To complete our misery, we had forgotten to see if the man whose duty it was to keep the well dry, was at his post: it proved that he was not; and in consequence our sleeping-place was inundated,

and we were obliged to pass the remainder of the night sitting in a comfortless manner on the top of our baggage, wrapt up in our *roanas*.

Sunday 11th. Day dawned at last, and brought a fine sun, which soon dried our wet garments and baggage, and made us forget our former misery. Breakfasted on the beach, and had afterwards an agreeable bath, although some alligators were in sight. Made fast under a gravel bank, and passed another unpleasant night of thunder and lightning; but not so bad as the previous evening, because we took care to have the *baratero*, or bailer, at his post. The musquitoes are here less troublesome, as the greater part disappear at sunset.

Monday 12th. Passed the *choro* or rapid of Angostura, which was in a very favourable state; so that we had little or no

trouble, and got through it in ten minutes. When the river is very high or very low, it is difficult and dangerous, as the current forms several deep whirlpools. At two o'clock we reached the town of Narie, and commenced arranging every thing for our departure the following day. Walked over the place, which is small, but well situated, as it is near the river Huntas, which conducts to a town of that name, from whence is brought down the produce of the mines of that district. Like most other places, Narie has suffered much from the war, and is indeed almost desolate.

13th. Intended to start at day-break, but found that our patron had not got the pork salted, which he had bought for the bogas and himself; this operation of salting detained us until nine o'clock, during which one of our bogas having walked off, we lost another hour in search of him, but were at

length obliged to desist; giving, however, his description to the Alcalde of the place, who promised to put him in prison if he caught him. Narie is a very bad place to procure stock at; only one fowl could be found for sale in the whole town, and not an egg was to be had. Passed several cocoa plantations in very good order, and a newly formed farming establishment, which I trust will be the forerunner of many others, that will tend to draw this country from the barbarous and uncultivated state in which it remains at present. We slept at a cottage, and rising at daylight on

Wednesday, 14th, soon got under weigh. Breakfasted on a sand-bank, where a very large alligator, from twenty to twenty-five feet long, came and laid down. I approached within twenty yards of him, and fired a pistol, which, missing him, he took no notice of: my companion approached

still nearer, and fired another pistol at him, and I believe hit him, as he made a growling noise, and very leisurely betook himself to the water, contrary to my expectation, as I thought he would have run after us.

Of the various accounts I have received of these animals, the following are those which I have selected as the most interesting, and best authenticated.

The alligators are not naturally inclined to lay wait for, or attack the human species; they have no delusive cries like those attributed to the crocodile: and, according to the natives, it is only old alligators, which have either met with a human corpse, or been induced by some uncommon opportunity to attack a living person, that, after thus tasting human flesh, become so fond of it, that they watch every occasion of indulging this propensity. They are then

called by the natives, *caymanes bravos*. These creatures frequently attack women who come down to the rivers to wash, or to fill their vessels with water: one young woman, near Narie, escaped the fangs of one of these monsters by an effort of singular presence of mind. She had waded a little way into the water, when the alligator seized her by the thigh, and began to drag her from the shore: she instantly thrust her fingers into his eyes, the anguish of which caused him immediately to let go his prey, and thus she escaped with no farther injury than a lacerated limb. Since this, a melancholy instance of the ferocity of these creatures has occurred, to which a youthful countryman of our own fell a victim. Whilst rashly bathing in the Magdalena, contrary to the advice of his friends, he was seized and devoured by an alligator. When one of these *caymanes bravos* has appeared in any part of the river, the natives

form a party for the destruction of the animal, and station people on the look-out in canoes to discover his general place of resort, and whether he leaves the water to bask on the beach; which being ascertained, in the latter case, they collect in a body, armed with musquets and javelins, and conceal themselves in the wood behind that part of the beach where he generally makes his appearance, and on his coming a-shore, and extending himself for sleep, by a volley of musquetry fired at the lower part of his side, whilst a shower of javelins is darted to nail him to the beach, they generally succeed in despatching him. Some of them are, however, as the natives assert, so wary, that they are not to be destroyed in this manner; and after having commenced hostilities with mankind, seem to be aware of the dangers that await them by land: they, therefore, cease to come on shore, taking their rest at the bottom of

the river, under some bank, where they consider themselves safe from attack. But these precautions are insufficient to preserve them from the sagacious natives, who soon find out their retreat; upon which a party sets off in canoes about noon-day, which is the time when the alligator reposes, selecting an opportunity when the water is clear and undisturbed. They drop quietly down the river, until they arrive over the spot where the alligator lies, when one of the boldest and most experienced divers leaves the canoe, with a *lasso* in his hand, dives to the bottom, places himself by his side, and tickles him under the throat, which causes him to lift his head without opening his eyes, at which moment the diver slips the noose over his head, and instantly re-ascends to the surface. No sooner does he appear, than the noose is hauled taught, and the end is handed on shore; the whole party land, and the moment the animal is

thus brought to the water's edge, they despatch him with fire-arms and javelins, called by them *mattaculebras.*

This account, I confess, has some appearance of the marvellous; nor should I have given it a place here, had I not been assured of its truth by several persons entitled to implicit credit: it will, however, appear the less extraordinary, when the reader considers the indisputable fact, that in the Indies the largest and most ferocious sharks are sometimes attacked and killed in their native element by negro divers, armed with a knife only; and that the common method of killing tigers in the neighbourhood of Buenos-Ayres is, for a single hunter to go in search of them, armed with a knife, and carrying a *roana* wrapped round his left arm. The tiger being roused by small dogs, trained for the purpose, the hunter approaches the cover, and awaits the spring

of the animal, whom he receives on his left arm, round which the *roana* is folded many times, and at the same moment rips him up with his *cuchilla*, the knife of the country.

The alligators are very prolific, laying eggs, which are by no means bad eating. The bogas are very fond of them, and wherever they observe the marks of recent scratching, they immediately dig the spot, and take out the eggs, which they boil in the same vessel with their meat and plantains. In this manner we once discovered one of these depositories, and I was induced to eat some of the eggs, which had by no means a disagreeable flavour. I have sometimes seen the young, by hundreds at a time (shortly after being hatched by the heat of the sun), only a few inches in length: having taken to the water, they keep close to the shore, so that with a *tortuma* one may

easily take half a dozen of them at a time. I caught one about six inches long, which seemed very ferocious, and whose teeth, even at this early age, were so sharp that it could not be handled with safety. I kept it tied in the canoe with a piece of twine for several days: finding it would not eat any thing I offered it, I restored it to the element whence I took it, not choosing to incur the consciousness of cruelty, in case of its being starved in my possession.

They appear to live chiefly on fish; but also take a number of ducks and other wild water-fowl, by suddenly rising under them, and pulling them down by the legs.

During the day, I saw a *Dant* in the water, and fired at him with duck-shot, but only startled him. He rushed out of the river, and ran into the woods. He had the appearance of a fat pony.

We passed a most disagreeable night in consequence of the heavy rain. The man in charge of the well neglected his duty, and we consequently got all our bedding wet.

15th. As soon as day began to dawn, the musquitoes re-appeared. We were congratulating ourselves that they were not so numerous; but a large fly, called *battano*, supplied their place: they bite sharply, but the smart does not last long, nor does it cause a swelling. We had also a reinforcement of the sand-fly, whose bite is worse than that of the *battano*, as it causes swelling, and leaves a red spot.

Saw a large troop of long-tailed monkeys, leaping from tree to tree, which approached boldly, skipping about, and looking at us in every variety of posture, many hanging by their tails: when we fired amongst them,

they set up a general scream. They are sometimes seen here in troops of two thousand, and make a noise which, in the night, resembles distant thunder.

Passed a beautiful snake; the forepart of the body spotted with yellow, the tail black. It is very venomous, and its being found in great numbers in the woods renders it dangerous to enter them, as these reptiles dart upon the passenger from the branches of the trees.

Observed several beautiful flies, with bright purple bodies, and yellow, or almost golden-coloured legs, which looked exceedingly splendid as they flitted in the sunbeams.

Stopped at some low grounds, and went into the woods with the bogas to cut poles,

partly for use in the champan, and partly for sale at Honda. These are made of a peculiar tree, which they know by the leaf, and the stems of which are perfectly straight, and four or five inches in circumference; they scorch them over a fire, after which the bark peels easily. The head is formed of a tri-forked piece of wood, nearly in the form of a Y, the lower limb of which they cut to a fine point; they then bore a hole in the end of the pole, parallel with which they make several slits; then bind the end neatly and firmly with strips of strong bark, and the hole being thus much diminished, the point is driven in with great force: with this they are very expert in catching hold of branches or trunks of trees, resting against which they run from stem to stern, pushing the canoe forward. After sunset, we landed in an island, and made a large bonfire.

16th. At daylight found that the river had so much swollen, as to put out the fire, and cover the embers with water: we had reason, therefore, to congratulate ourselves on having slept on board, rather than on shore, as we at first intended. We feared this increase would materially retard our progress towards Honda, as the men could not work well, being unable to find bottom for their poles, and having constantly to haul along by the branches of the trees. At eleven o'clock we passed the river Miél, whose waters are very clear, forming a great contrast with those of the Magdalena, which are particularly muddy. We passed the small village of Buenavista, and at sunset stopped at a cottage to sleep.

Saturday 17th. The river decreasing, but in its late rise had so much undermined the banks, that we constantly heard them falling away, to an extent of three or four hundred

yards. A part of a bank gave way alongside of us, and a tree actually fell across our canoe, and enveloped the men in its foliage. Fortunately it was not a large one, and we soon got clear from it. The undermining of the banks makes the river at times very dangerous; and from year to year the river is found to increase its bed. In the vicinity of this place, at some distance from the river, are some very extensive plantations, formerly belonging to rich proprietors of the country, amongst whom, the father of Colonel Rieux possessed lands of considerable value, but which have descended to the son greatly impoverished, like the rest of the country, by a ruinous civil war. To this district I would particularly recommend the attention of such agriculturalists as intend to devote their efforts to the cultivation of land on the banks of the Magdalena; the river itself being, at this distance from its mouth, considerably raised above the level of the sea,

and the lands in question lying from thirty to forty feet above that of the river, where the atmosphere is drier, freer from noxious exhalations, and altogether more healthy than most of the country near the river. Here cattle may be reared in abundance, and the exportation of their hides and tallow will afford a valuable commodity. Indian corn, sugar-cane, cotton, indigo, and vanilla, might here be cultivated with great advantage, as might also cocoa on the lower grounds; while the clearing of the woods would afford a quantity of valuable timber, which might be floated down the Magdalena for exportation, at a very small expense. At three, we passed Guarumo; at sunset stopped to sleep on the bank of the river.

Sunday 18th. Found the river much decreased; pushed on before daylight. We saw in the distance a new road making from Bogotá to Guarumo, which, when completed,

will be of great advantage to the country, in regard to its commerce, as it is a better line of direction than the present road from Honda, and can be performed in the same time; thereby saving water-carriage of two or three days from Guarumo to Honda. Slept on the *playa* (sandy beach, or flat.)

19th. Continued our course, and arrived by moonlight in sight of the *bodegas*, or custom-house stores of Honda, but could not reach them on account of having to pass a rapid. Much rain during the night.

20th. At daylight passed the rapid, and landed at the *bodegas* on the right bank of the river, where we immediately put our luggage in the custom-house stores, which are miserable in the extreme. Not being able to procure any thing to eat, we crossed to the left bank in the passage-canoe, which, on account of the rapidity of the stream,

hauls up a considerable distance beyond the opposite point, at which the landing is to be effected, and then keeping the head turned a little up the stream, leaves the shore and is carried down (making only a few strokes of the paddle) to the intended point.

During my progress up this river, I acted as caterer, and had frequently to land to purchase provisions in small proportions, getting a fowl at one place, a few eggs or onions at another, and so forth. I always found it necessary to back my requests by the ceremony of chinking my purse in the ears of the natives, who were apprehensive that we were officers, and would accordingly take their provisions, without paying for them. On one of these occasions, being on my way to the shore in a small canoe, we came in contact with some branches, to clear which I caught hold of one of them, but, from inexperience, in such a manner as to impel

the canoe the contrary way, which passed from under my feet, and I fell into the water. I still held fast by the branch, and was for some time bobbed up and down by its elasticity, whilst I devoutly prayed that the alligators might resist so unusual a temptation. I was, however, assisted into the canoe without further accident than a good ducking.

On arriving at the town of Honda, we received much attention from a stranger named Marcellino Ferario, whose house I entered, mistaking it for a *posada*. I walked in briskly, enquiring whether we could have breakfast there. "Certainly, Sir," was the reply, in a tone that induced me to look more attentively at my host, whose dress and appearance did not indicate the class I expected. I immediately said, "I fear I have made some mistake: is this a *posada?*"—"No, Sir," said he, "but you are

extremely welcome to make it yours." I was pleased with this hospitable proposal, but made some shew of declining it, as being unwilling to intrude; but he would hear of no objection. I mentioned that I had a friend with me. "Your friend," he added, "shall be equally welcome with yourself: you will give me some news, and I shall have the pleasure of accommodating you with a breakfast." Having no further objections to offer, I accepted his proffered civility. After breakfast, Mr. Bray and myself waited on the Juez Politico, the Governor being absent: we then despatched a native courier (to whom we paid two dollars and a half), who rode off, armed with a lance, to Guadiz for mules, a distance of five leagues; which system creates much delay, and seems unnecessary, as these animals might easily be fed at the *bodegas*

Honda is a small but well-situated town: it was formerly flourishing, but an earthquake destroyed it fifteen years ago, and the civil war has greatly decreased its commerce. I have, however, no doubt but that it will rapidly recover; particularly as it is so well situated, and near the famous gold and silver mines of Mariquita, few of which have been worked, from the preference given by the old Spanish system to the Mexican mines over those of Colombia; but which, now that the country is opened, will in all probability be once more worked by some enterprising individual. We had now to transfer our boat to a Colombian merchant, to get a freight down the river, and reimburse us part of our expenses; but the freight down is only one dollar and a half per *carga* (or 250 lbs.), which, upward, pays nine dollars. Nevertheless, a full freight would

have repaid us the hire of the champan. The temperature of this place is hot, but not unhealthy; the air is agreeable; and this province produces maize, sugar, and tobacco in abundance, and most of the fruits of warm and temperate climates. The convents and churches are now in a dilapidated and impoverished state; a solitary tower only to be seen here and there. The population, which is said to have amounted to ten thousand souls, now scarcely exceeds three thousand.

Honda is built on a rising ground, connected with another and more considerable eminence, on which stands a little suburb, by a wooden bridge of one arch, in a very precarious state; below which, at the depth of sixty or seventy feet, rushes a foaming torrent called *Guale*, which descends from the neighbouring mountains of Mariquita. We crossed the

bridge, and ascended the hill, from which there is a fine view of the surrounding country. Looking in the direction of the town, we had the Magdalena on our right, emerging from behind a lofty mountain, and meandering between us and the ridges of the Cordilleras, to the foot of a range of hills, whose summits presented peculiarly angular and horizontal forms. The Cordilleras, on the opposite side of the river, rose in imposing grandeur; mountains above mountains, covered with forests, amongst which a glimpse of the road to Bogotá was occasionally obtained. On our left were the mountains of Mariquita, from whose heights the torrent already mentioned was seen descending. The plain beneath our feet, through which the Magdalena winds, was studded with trees of the richest verdure and most majestic forms. The description given by a celebrated French Sçavant, M. Bouguer, appears

to me so appropriate, that I beg leave to quote it.

"The mountains bordering the river near Honda are remarkable for the horizontal situation of their strata, which are clearly seen on account of the faces of the rocks being so perpendicular, as to resemble walls. When any of these hills are insulated, they form such a regular cone, and the strata are so uniformly and cylindrically disposed, that they seem rather the work of art than of nature." One of these exists about a league from Honda on the road to Mariquita, and is of such an extraordinary shape and so symmetrical, that M. Bouguer forbears describing it minutely, for fear of being thought to take the usual liberty imputed to travellers. Other mountains in the vicinity of this river, assume the shapes of sumptuous and ancient edifices; of chapels, domes, castles and fortifications, consisting of long curtains, sur-

mounted with parapets. From the circumstance of the strata of all these corresponding in a singular manner, M. Bouguer supposes that the valley must have sunk by some sudden convulsion of nature, leaving the sides of those hills uncovered, whose bases were of more solid materials than itself.

The same thing is observable on the banks of the Orinoco, though nothing of the kind is to be seen in Peru, where nature is so infinitely varied in her Alpine scenery.

Our walk this morning through those meadows to the heights on which we stood had been particularly agreeable and exhilarating. The rising sun gilding the mountain-tops, the sweet notes of multitudes of birds, the beautiful trees through which we passed, where the *guacheracas* (the pheasant of the country) were flying in great numbers, from

bough to bough, or occasionally taking wing, when disturbed by our approach; the unusual freshness of the air, and the varied beauties of the scenery, had a most pleasing effect on our spirits, fatigued as we were by our long confinement to the river and its miseries.

We found this evening that there were mules at the *bodegas*, belonging to the proprietor of those for which we had sent, that were waiting for the *champans* we had left behind us on the river, and which we therefore knew would not be wanted for two or three days. We accordingly applied to the man in charge of them, whom we prevailed on to let us have them to proceed with, giving up those which had been sent for on our account to the expected travellers, and we thus were enabled to proceed on the following morning, the twenty-first, when,

starting at nine o'clock, we bade adieu to our *boga* friends, of whom we were heartily tired.

During our detention on account of the weather, I found time to examine the *bodegas*, or custom-house magazines. These are situated in the plain opposite Honda, in which the road to Bogotá commences. They are mean buildings, little more than sheds, some being merely inclosed with railings, and others, for the more valuable articles, with mud walls or wattles. There is a guard, consisting of four or five men, armed with fire-arms and lances.

At nine we advanced on our journey; the day cleared up, and we were particularly pleased with the beautiful views that presented themselves. Between the ridge we were ascending, and the mountains of Mari-

quita, rolled with precipitate fury the broad Magdalena, dashing in its rapid course against the numerous rocks that impede its current above the town of Honda. The pleasure, however, received from the different views that open at every moment as you ascend, is much decreased by the shocking road on which you are obliged to travel, being every moment in danger of your life, should the mule make a false step. I can scarcely call it a road ; it is more like a passage made by a mountain torrent; for you have every moment to climb rocks, many of which the mule can hardly reach with her fore-feet, and we were particularly unfortunate, for a great deal of rain had fallen, which had not only made this bad road uncommonly slippery, but occasionally obliged us to contend against a torrent of water pouring down from it. At a turn of the road we met with a fine pellucid stream, under an overhanging shade of rocks and trees, where

it had worn itself a basin in the stone. Here we regaled ourselves with its cool refreshing water, qualified however with some excellent French brandy, which we had not neglected to take with us. At the greatest height we attained, we found an erection of mason's work, covered with white plaster, on which were large characters informing us that we had arrived within eighteen leagues of the capital, and at a level of eight hundred and sixty toises above the sea. We now commenced our descent, and found it in many places worse than the ascent, having to dismount and drive the mules forward. Just at sunset we came in sight of the village of Guaduas, situate on the opposite side of a narrow plain. Hunger, and the hopes of a good supper, quickened our pace, and we arrived an hour after sunset. We immediately went to the house of Colonel Acostá, the person who has the whole supply of mules upon the road, with whom Mr.

Bray was previously acquainted, and who received us with great politeness, regaling us with a most excellent supper; after which the clergyman of the place came in. I had a good deal of conversation with him on the state of the country. He appeared to be an intelligent, liberal-minded man, and spoke on all points with the greatest coolness and consideration. At a late hour we were supplied with comfortable beds, a most unusual thing in this country.

The next morning early, we visited the Colonel's stud, and inspected his stock of brood mares, mules, &c., and Mr. Bray and myself each purchased a horse, and hired *peons* to conduct them by hand to the capital, where they are much dearer than at this place. After this we walked over the village, consisting merely of a central square (in which the Colonel's house stood), with two streets, of various lengths, running out from each

corner at right angles. This place is to Bogotá what Cheltenham is to London: the people of fashion visiting it for the benefit of their health, on account of the purity and mildness of the air, and the salubrity of the water.

Thursday 22d. At nine o'clock we took leave of our friend, and started with two mules in company carrying our light equipage, leaving the heavy baggage to follow with the servant. From a rising ground behind Guaduas, we had a fine expansive view of the picturesque valley in which that town is situated; the surrounding mountains being covered with trees to their summits, and having the plain at their feet, consisting of rich and verdant pasturage, in which quantities of cattle, horses, and mules are seen grazing. The general trade of Guaduas is the manufacture of straw hats, which are made in a beautiful style, and

the rearing of horses and mules; the latter of a very fine breed, and the former, when of the Antioquian breed, being considered the best of the country.

We made but little progress, the mules we rode having been of late much worked by the government, and our muleteer being a very bad and drunken fellow. We had some difficulty in passing the river Negro, which crossed our way, it being so uncommonly rapid and swollen, that the feet of our mules scarcely touched its gravelly bed. The banks of this river are formed of jet-black earth; its water was, however, clear and palatable, although at a short distance, when running, it has the appearance of blackness, whence it takes its name of Negro. We now passed, without visiting it, the town of Villietas: leaving it on our left, we commenced climbing a ridge of mountains, from which we had a view of the

town and small plain of Villietas, which, surrounded by several chains of mountains, romantic and diversified, appears secluded from the world and its busy scenes, and forcibly reminds the spectator of the happy Abyssinian valley so beautifully described by Johnson. We continued the ascent of the zigzag Alpine road over the mountains, which was formerly completely paved, but is now out of repair, and, in consequence of the rains, was in a very difficult, not to say dangerous state. In this route we occasionally met with troops of muleteers, conducting their mules, chiefly laden with blankets for the army, to Honda. These men had complexions fairer and ruddier than those of the neighbourhood of Caraccas. Each drove, consisting of about fifty mules, has three or four muleteers, under the guidance of a *caporal*; but when the droves greatly exceed, or amount, as they sometimes do, to double that number, the muleteers are usually

accompanied by a confidential agent of the house by which they are employed, and who is treated with much respect. The first halting-place, which we reached about seven o'clock, we found entirely occupied by muleteers; and although we would fain have stopped, being excessively fatigued by the heat and exertions of the day, during which we had had no other refreshment than some sour *chicha*, we found ourselves under the necessity of proceeding, dark as the night was, under the precarious guidance of our drunken *peon*,—and at eight o'clock we arrived at another rendezvous; on approaching which, we perceived the porch filled by a party of sleeping muleteers, and were almost in despair of finding shelter here, when the mistress of the house, with great civility, came forward and informed us that the interior was occupied only by herself and her family, and she would readily give

up the sleeping-room of part of her inmates, and remove them to the kitchen, for our accommodation during the night. I now desired to have supper, and not observing the most cheerful alacrity at first, produced my purse, and offered to pay beforehand; a proposal which, although she declined it, so far softened the heart of the old lady, that she immediately began to prepare such fare as her cottage would afford; and in the mean time we hung up our hammocks, placing the intended supper-table between us, and taking a nap until the supper was ready, when we had only to turn round, throw our legs out of our hammocks, and sit up in them until our repast was finished. We then made a bowl of punch, and deeply ingratiated ourselves with our hostess and her daughters, by making them partake of this liquor, which they seemed to think delicious, admitting that the Eng-

lish *chicha*,* as they called it, was better than their own.

On the 23rd we rose at daylight; on going out of the cottage I found the whole surrounding country covered with hoar frost. The coolness of the air was delightfully refreshing, and the view from this spot magficently grand. I found myself standing amongst a chaos of mountains, the most distant ridges of which, by the clearness of the atmosphere, and by the great height at which I stood, seemed to be brought almost within my reach, though in fact many leagues off;

* Chicha is made from Indian corn, in the proportion of one part of bruised corn to six parts of water; it is left to ferment, after which the soaked corn is rubbed over a strong hair-sieve, until all the juice is extracted; the liquid is then put into large earthen jars, and mixed up with a certain proportion, necessary to sweeten it, either of honey or molasses.

this optical deception is often experienced by travellers in mountainous countries, who, anxious to reach some particular spot with daylight, consider themselves almost on the threshold of the place they would arrive at; but as the day advances, the object of their wishes gradually recedes from their view, and many a tedious hour is passed ere the weary traveller obtains the fulfilment of his wishes.

We called for the muleteer, but he was not forthcoming, nor did he make his appearance before seven o'clock, and then intoxicated. With the aid of some other *peons*, our mules were loaded, and we commenced our journey through a most interesting and mountainous country. We had to travel along a number of ridges, descending and rising alternately, always attended with most luxuriant vegetation, and we enjoyed views of the most romantic glens

and dells that fancy can depict. At eleven o'clock we stopped to breakfast at one of the refreshment houses, or *ventas*. Finding that our mules were completely tired, I enquired if it were possible to procure fresh ones; the muleteer, who had by this time become a little sobered, answered in the affirmative, but without mentioning the distance at which they were to be obtained. I immediately set off with him, leaving my friend to look to the preparation of our repast. The muleteer and myself descended the mountain, and proceeded to a deep glen beneath, a distance of at least a league from the house where we had stopped; on reaching the farm-yard at the foot of the mountain, I was of course very anxious to have mules got ready without delay; but after much entreaty I discovered that there were none upon the spot, and that in order to procure any, it was necessary to send out and catch them.

This place, so well adapted to exercise the patience of travellers, was a sort of farm-house, or cottage, the occupier of which obtained a subsistence by means of keeping mules and slaughtering cattle. There are in these wilds many houses of this description; their style of living is, in general, nearly similar; sometimes the great-grandfather, grandfather, parents, and children, four generations, all live together in the same dwelling, each set having a separate apartment, but destitute of almost all the comforts of life.

I had to wait about an hour before the mules were caught, and in readiness. During this time a great change for the worse took place in the weather; instead of the beautiful appearance of the sky, which the morning had yielded, heavy clouds descended from the mountains, bringing with them torrents of rain: it was in the midst

of this storm that I had to re-ascend the mountain, seated upon the packsaddle of one of the mules. It may be easily imagined that my situation was any thing but comfortable; notwithstanding, however, its extreme unpleasantness, I was in some degree compensated by the occasional glimpses I obtained of the very striking scenery around me. On advancing up the mountains, I found that the difficulties of the way had been much increased by the rain; the road, if it can be called such, was a kind of ravine, made in some parts to take a zig-zag direction In the finest weather it is not very safe for a traveller, and the heavy rain rendered it dangerous in the extreme,—the mules frequently losing their footing from the slipperiness of the ground. Still there was considerable gratification, at intervals, between the heavy showers of rain; the opening of the clouds sometimes affording the

most singular views; and, on approaching the summit, the rolling of the thunder, and the flashing of the forked lightning beneath my feet, added not a little to the sublimity of the scene, which was like a disturbed ocean interspersed with islands.

I at length rejoined my friend, and found a good repast prepared, with the addition of some excellent potatoes. The rain still falling in torrents, I did not change my clothes, but fortified myself with some good old Cogniac. Here a poor wounded soldier begged assistance: he shewed his leg, through which a musquet-ball had passed: he said he had been left on the field of battle in that state, and could get no cure; his companions had been forced to leave him in following up the enemy, and he was now endeavouring to reach his native village. He told his tale so artlessly, that I felt convinced of its truth, and gave him

a small sum to assist him on his journey. Medical aid is so rarely to be obtained in this country, that I fear this poor fellow's stay in this world was but limited, as mortification seemed likely to ensue. This is one of the miseries incidental to warfare, especially in these thinly-peopled parts of the world.

Notwithstanding the unfavourable state of the weather, we mounted as soon as we had breakfasted, and commenced our last ascent towards the plains of Bogotá, which was by no means the least difficult part of our journey, owing to the badness of the road. Half an hour before sunset we reached the pass at the summit, and had a fine view of the plains of Bogotá. This was a pleasing moment; the rain had ceased, and the sun threw his parting rays over the small town of Facatativá, lying at our feet, and illumined the tops of the distant moun-

tains at the other extremity of the plain, upon the rise of which the capital stands, though too far distant to be distinguished. The pleasure of thinking all our pains nearly at an end, inspired us with fresh spirits, which, by means of our spurs, we communicated to our poor tired animals, and entered Facatativá at a round pace, a little after sunset. This place is seven leagues from the capital. My friend, who was acquainted with the Alcalde, waited upon him, and requested him to procure for us a night's lodging; to this he agreed, and took us to a variety of different houses, but the occupiers, on some pretext or other, all refused to afford the requisite accommodation, or at least, made excuses. The Alcalde apologized for not taking us to his own house, alleging his inability to accommodate us, in consequence of having two daughters ill with fever. We at length obtained a lodging in a house, in the ab-

sence of the ladies to whom it belonged, and who, on their return from a walk, were much surprised to find strangers there. They, however, gave us chocolate and sweetmeats, provided supper, and we became, gradually, very good friends: about twelve we bade our kind hostesses good night, retiring to rest upon stretchers. The following morning we rose at daylight, paid for our board and lodging, which only cost a dollar, and, leaving our baggage to be brought after us by my servant, again set out for the capital.

We now proceeded along a plain entirely level, the roads in many places covered with water: the depth of inundation is, indeed, sometimes so great, that adventurous travellers, who have endeavoured to pass along these roads at night, during the rainy season, have lost their lives in the attempt. At half-past nine we obtained

the first glimpse of the capital of Colombia, at a distance of about twelve miles.

On advancing towards Bogotá, the first points that strike the eye are, the white towers of the cathedral, and the monasteries of Montserrat and La Guadaloupe, situated on the first rise of mountains in the rear of the town. On our way along the plain, we passed two bridges, which are thrown over the small stream of the river Bogotá: we saw also, occásionally, some cottages, and one or two small villages, but scarcely any trees. A considerable part of the plain was covered with water. We could not discover corn-fields, or grain of any description; nothing but pasture-land was to be seen, with some cattle grazing.

A new object now began to attract our attention,—the costume of the men and wo-

men, of whom we met several travelling from the capital. The men were dressed in *roanas*, and broad-brimmed hats; and the women in a kind of blue flannel petticoat, a cloth mantle, which enveloped the head, a very coarse broad-brimmed beaver hat, with a round crown, and no shoes.

On our nearer approach to Bogotá, we found the roads better, and discovered that the town was spread, in rather a romantic manner, over a larger space of ground than from the first distant view we had anticipated. The ascent to it is gradual, by an *almeda*, which was formerly beautifully planted, but the trees were cut down and destroyed during the progress of the revolution: the town is laid out in the form of an amphitheatre. On entering the streets, the number of people passing to and fro, the ringing of the cathedral bells, and other

indications of civilized life, presented so striking a contrast to the wild and savage scenes we had passed through, that we were much delighted with the change.

After traversing some of the principal streets, we alighted at the house of Mr. Welch, to whom I had letters of introduction. In the course of the morning we were visited by all the Englishmen in the place; amongst others, by General D'Evereux and Colonel Hamilton, who were at that time there, for the purpose of arranging their claims upon the government, to which they had rendered considerable assistance. It has been often remarked by travellers, that persons of the same nation meeting together in a foreign land are disposed to render each other the most friendly assistance; although previously they might have been not at all, or very

slightly, acquainted: and at Bogotá I experienced from my fellow-countrymen that attention which is always gratifying, and which upon this occasion was highly useful to me.

In the evening Colonel Hamilton was kind enough to deliver my letter of introduction to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who, at the solicitation of the colonel, appointed a time to give me an audience. On Sunday, the 25th of May, I accompanied Colonel Hamilton to the Senate-house, where we found Señor Gual, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, answering questions which had been put to him by the Congress. As soon as he had finished, he beckoned us to follow, and we accompanied him to his office. Having read all my papers, he expressed himself much pleased with the object of my journey, and promised me all the assistance in his power.

Having now fixed myself in the capital of Colombia, and witnessed the assembly of the first Constitutional Congress, it may be satisfactory to my readers to have a slight sketch of the history of the country, particularly with reference to the means by which it has arrived at its present state of independence.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE ABORIGINAL INDIANS.

Previously to entering upon a sketch of the history of Spanish America, it may be as well to observe, that, under that term, are comprehended the whole of the late dominions of Spain upon the American Continent; comprising Buenos-Ayres, Peru, Chili, the territories now forming the Republic of Colombia, &c.; the Peninsula of North America, together with the Isthmus of Panama, which connects North and South America; and likewise the Viceroyalty of

Mexico, or New Spain, locally appertaining to the continent of North America.

There has been a sort of understanding hitherto, or until a recent period, by which South America and Spanish America were considered as nearly identical; and the Spanish possessions in North America, of great importance in themselves, from their vast extent, their numerous population, and immense resources, were all merged, as it were, in the idea of South America. Indeed, so prevalent has this notion become, that it is very difficult to separate the two ideas of South America, and Spanish America, more especially as it is amongst the South Americans, strictly so called, that the cause of independence has found its most zealous and energetic supporters. In the following sketch, therefore, wherever the term South Americans is used, it must be taken to have the same meaning as Spanish

Americans; that is to say, the native Americans lately under the dominion of Spain; as the word Spaniards must be considered to mean natives of Spain, who had been sent out to Spanish America: the terms Patriots and Independents apply to all those who resisted the Spanish authorities, or who supported the cause of independence; in a similar manner, the term Royalists includes all those individuals whose object was to maintain the authority of the mother-country, or to continue Spanish America in the same colonial shackles by which it had hitherto been fettered.

It should not be forgotten, however, that there was, and still is, a very considerable portion of South America which was never conquered, nor has it ever been settled; and which is now in the possession of the descendants of those aboriginal natives, who,

at the period of the first conquest of various portions of South America, occupied, more or less, the whole of the country.

The term Natives of South America has, of course, since been applied to all persons born there, whether descended from the aboriginal natives, from the Spaniards who settled there, from the negroes whom the latter imported there, after they had been the cause of destroying a great part of the aboriginal natives, or from various intermixtures of these different races, forming a great number of shades of colour, and presenting, as it were, a variegated race of beings, who, though having, as it may be said, a common country, and thus possessing some feelings and opinions in common, were, in the course of events, frequently found to be as varied in their opinions as to theories of government, or prac-

tical systems of rule, as they were in their shades of colour.

At the time of the first conquests made in Continental America by the Spaniards, the natives of Mexico and of Peru were in an incipient state of civilization : the natives of South America, with the exception of Peru, were at that period savages, more or less, taking that term as it is generally understood. Some of them, however, were more in advance towards civilization than others, and though the natives of South America had little occasion for agriculture, in the sense in which it is understood in Europe, those of many parts of Mexico practised it with industry and success; and there are some portions of that territory still inhabited by the descendants of the aboriginal Indians in great numbers, and where agriculture has existed for upwards of eight centuries.

Many of the Indians, also, of South America were, in this respect, not idle; they cultivated cassava, cotton, and the plantain tree; and that system of cultivation is continued by the Indians their descendants, who, at the present day, reside in villages between the Orinoco and the river of Amazons, where they are peaceably united, and obey chiefs. These places are called Pecanati, Apoto, or Siberiene, and thither the missionaries have never penetrated. It is obvious, therefore, that the sort of disposition towards civilization, evinced by these Indians, must be inherited from their own ancestors.

Indeed, between the native Indians of South America and those of North America (excepting a number existing in Mexico), there has ever prevailed, as far back as information can be obtained, a marked and essential difference. Of the former, a great number

were attached to agriculture, and disposed to settle in villages, or to form different kinds of associations; whilst the latter, with very few exceptions, have never yet been induced to approximate, even in the slightest degree, towards any kind of civilized association, or to cultivate the earth.

Of course, amongst races of men extending through such an immense distance of territory, there is, and must be, a variety of shades of difference, as to habit and disposition; but the general characteristics remain the same. It thence results, that whilst the extension of civilization in North America, by means of pushing forward, as it were, new provinces of the United States, tends to decrease the Indian population, by diminishing their hunting grounds, from which alone they derive their means of subsistence; the progress of civilization in South America tends, with some exceptions, to

associate the Indian villages with the towns and cultivated lands of their more civilized brethren, forming out of the whole a state, or rather states, comprising a population shaded off in various tints of civilization.

Of the Indians existing at the time of the Spanish conquest in Mexico and Peru, immense numbers, it is well known, were sacrificed through the cupidity and the cruelty of their conquerors and oppressors, who compelled them to a species of labour in the mines, constructing roads, &c. to which they were not accustomed, nor their constitutions adequate. The consequence was, that the Spaniards, who by their extreme cruelty exterminated the greater part of the natives, whom they had previously reduced to slavery, had recourse to the importation of negroes from Africa, who became the substitutes for that portion of the Indian population which had

been swept off by the cruelty of the conquerors.

It must not, however, be supposed that the whole of the Indian population, even of Mexico or Peru, much less of Spanish America generally, was thus destroyed; on the contrary, numbers of Indians existed in Mexico, whom the Spaniards never conquered, and their descendants remain there to this day. In the same manner, in South America, a considerable portion of the Indian population was not only never subjected to Spanish domination, but the Spaniards never even pretended to have conquered them. And at the present time there exist some hundred thousand Indians in South America, regularly descended from their Indian ancestors, who have never been compelled, in any way, to recognize Spanish authority. They may now find it their interest to form a part of the South Ame-

rican States; but if they do not, some of the tribes may still preserve their independence, without its being possible, perhaps, for any of the states, should it even be their wish, to reduce them to obedience.

The Indian, as a general description, may be said to have a large head, a narrow forehead, hair black, lank and long, eyes of middling size, sharp nose, wide mouth, thick lips, and broad face. The colour, which is that of copper, varies in its shades in different parts of the two Americas; the stature also differs from four and a half to six feet. Their limbs, large and muscular, have the appearance of great strength; an appearance which probably deceived their first conquerors, who supposed them, in consequence. to be capable of supporting hard labour: The fact, however, is not so, as the Spaniards

soon found to their cost and vexation; for it certainly was not the intention of the original conquerors and settlers absolutely to destroy their Indian captives; the former expected, from the appearance of the limbs of the latter, to obtain from them much hard labour, which, however, was to the Indians certain death: so it has remained to the present day. The Indians, naturally lazy, are, it appears, incapable of severe labour, and many of them are so impatient of any kind of restraint, that they cannot be induced to enter upon, or carry into practice, any continuous system of work or employment. Some of them are conspicuous for their cruelty, and are even cannibals.

I have already mentioned the destruction of a large portion of the Indian population in Mexico and Peru, through the cruelty and cupidity of the Spaniards. The

Indians who, at the time of the discovery of America, inhabited the plains of Cumana; of Caraccas, and those which are watered by the Apure and the Orinoco, were more savage in their habits and disposition than the natives of Mexico and Peru. There were, however, in their state various shades and degrees of organization; and on the plain where Bogotá now stands, a nation existed, called the Moscas, which was governed by laws; and the court of the chief of Cundinamarca, to whom the Spaniards gave the title of King, was not without splendour. The Moscas alone refrained from the barbarous custom of sacrificing human victims, which was practised by the other Indian nations in that quarter of the continent.

The Indians who inhabited the districts afterwards called Venezuela and New Grenada, the first advantages of the conquest

of which were sold to some German adventurers by the Spanish government, were, like their brethren in Mexico, Peru, &c., sacrificed to the thirst of gain on the part of their oppressors; but a considerable Indian population took refuge in the forests upon the banks of the Orinoco, and were established in the mountains; their descendants are still seated in those situations, and far from being diminished, their number has considerably increased.

A similar increase has taken place generally amongst the Indian population in that part of America which is within the tropics; and it is estimated that, in both the Americas, there still exist upwards of six millions of Indians; that is to say, of the original copper-coloured race. As I have already stated, however, the tendency to increase is much greater in Mexico

and in South America than in the neighbourhood of the United States, where, on the contrary, the Indians are fast diminishing in numbers.

In the province of Cumana, now forming part of the Republic of Colombia, there are at the present moment upwards of fourteen tribes of Indians: amongst them are the Chaymas, Guayquerias, Pariagotoes, Quaquas, Aruacas, Caribbees, Guaraons, Cumanagotoes, Palenkas, Piritoos, Tomoozas, Topocuares, Chacopatas, and Guarivas; there are also the Araucanians, on the frontiers of Chili. Some of these tribes consider themselves as of entirely different races or nations; and there are many material differences in their languages. There are also, in other parts of Colombia, the Goahiros, the Salivas, the Guamos, the Yaruros, the Muyscas, the Muzos, the

Otomacs, and some other tribes or nations, which together form a numerous population.

Of the Indians, a considerable number are entirely independent; and amongst some of these, from their careless and improvident habits, there is little or no tendency to an increase of population; while, on the contrary, the Indian population, in the missions, is constantly augmenting.

These missions owe their origin to a scheme of conquest, which succeeded that cruel system commenced, and for a long time persevered in, by the first conquerors and settlers of South America, especially of that extensive region which is now the Republic of Colombia. Having destroyed, by means of the hard and unaccustomed labour to which they were doomed, the Indians upon the coast, the Spaniards found

themselves totally unable to make any impression, by force, upon those in the interior; who, secure in their impenetrable wilds, or natural fastnesses, defied all the power that could be arrayed against them.

Recourse was then had to the aid of religion, for the purpose of effecting a conquest through the instrumentality of its ministers, which could not be achieved by the sword. Missionaries were consequently employed to penetrate into the retreats of the Indians, in order to civilize them by converting them to Christianity. In these attempts, rendered doubly hazardous by the exasperation of the Indians, many of the ministers of religion fell victims to their zeal: some, however, so far succeeded as to establish churches; and each of these churches, with an adjacent village, and a district attached to it, constituted what was denominated a mission; each of them

having a pastor or minister constantly resident, who attended to the duties of the church, and to the religious offices appertaining to his station.

These missions gradually increased, forming, as it were, a sort of intermediate grade between the settled territories of the Spaniards and the wild retreats of the independent Indians. It may be doubted, perhaps, whether any large proportion of the Indians were, by means of these missions, converted into devout Catholics or good Christians; but it is certain that the effect has been to impress upon them many of the characteristics of civilization, by inspiring them with some taste for the enjoyments of social life, and inducing them to bestow upon the land that little cultivation which is required in South America, to produce an abundant supply for the sustenance of man.

Some of these missions have been, by degrees, absorbed into the settled territories of the Spaniards, and have thus become Spanish towns or villages; others still, more or less, preserved their original independence. Their internal economy has been, of course, much deranged by the effects of the war; and the motives which originally led to their establishment having now, in a considerable degree, ceased to operate, they may possibly form part of some new combination under the system of government now established in Colombia; as will also probably be ultimately the case with regard to the Indians in the other sections of Spanish America.

A long period must, however, elapse before the Indian population, in Spanish America, can be entirely identified with the civilization of the respective states established there. It should not be for-

gotten, also, that there are in the interior numerous tribes of Indians who have never been conquered, or in any manner subdued, either by force or by persuasion, and who thus still exist in a state of independence. It must also be remembered that of a not inconsiderable portion of South America, for instance, Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego, little or nothing is known beyond the mere outline of the coast.

The Indian population, therefore, must of necessity form a very important feature in any political view in which South America can be regarded. The complete independence of a great number of the Indians, the incipient civilization of many, and the absorption of some into the political systems existing in the Peninsula,—all give different bearings of the same question, which is not the less important, though it may become more complicated and more involved

with other questions of general polity. It is the more requisite, perhaps, that this subject should not be lost sight of, as for many years it was asserted by successive authors, and generally believed in Europe (nay, it is probably still credited in many quarters), that the aboriginal Indians, both in Mexico and in the Spanish dominions in South America, were all destroyed; and that the vacuum thus left was filled up by negroes imported from Africa. The truth is, that a great number of the Indians, undoubtedly, were sacrificed to the inhuman cupidity of their conquerors, who tasked them beyond their strength, and who were thus the means of prematurely sending them to their graves; and also, that numerous cargoes of negroes were successively imported from Africa, to execute that labour which was beyond the strength, or inconsistent with the constitutional habits, of the Indians. But, as

I have already stated, a considerable Indian population still remained, the amount of which has since increased; and from the intermixture in various quarters of the Indian and negro population, a new race has subsequently sprung, denominated Sambos, or Zambos; who, as if to punish the Spaniards for the inhumanity of their predecessors towards both the Indians and the negroes, inherit all the vices of their ancestors, on both sides, with scarcely any of their virtues, and thus become a pest to the country.

The Indians are likewise of importance from their numbers, as compared with the amount of the whole population of South America, of which they form, probably, one-third; whilst the greater part of the rest of the people, of all shades of colour between white, copper-colour, and black, are the offspring of the various intermar-

riages of different races. Questions thus necessarily arise, which can scarcely be justly appreciated in Europe, from the want of any corresponding data upon which to found an opinion, or of any feelings similar to those which frequently actuate, with some bitterness of hostility towards each other, the various races, casts, half-casts, &c. of such a mixed population.

This may, in some measure, be exemplified, by quoting the 188th article, title 10th, of the Constitution of the Republic of Colombia, which is to the following effect:—"Those laws shall be declared in their force and vigour, which hitherto have ruled all matters and points neither directly nor indirectly opposed to this Constitution, nor to the decrees and laws which the Congress may make." Thus, with the exception of the machinery of the constitution, and certain general enact-

ments, the old laws remain in force; and the Cabildos, or municipal bodies, retain their former privileges and authority.

The mention of this fact may, perhaps, be of use in correcting some notions which have prevailed respecting the revolution in Spanish America. In Colombia, the basis of a good government has been well laid; but many years must elapse before a superstructure can be raised corresponding to the liberality of the principles which compact the foundation. Buenos Ayres, Chili, and Mexico now possess similar advantages; and it is to be hoped that Peru, entirely throwing off the Spanish yoke, will ultimately enjoy the blessings of freedom.

The doubts in which the whole subject is enveloped, arise from the various, and

sometimes conflicting feelings, habits, prejudices, and dispositions of the different classes of the population. Hence, with a determined spirit of independence, now almost general, the question as to how that independence shall be exercised, is susceptible of a great variety of modifications; and the opposition, or contrariety of interests, of habits, and feelings, may, perhaps, ultimately give birth to as many points of difference between the nations or states of America, as exist amongst some of the nations of Europe.

National feelings appear to be impressed as a law upon human nature; and it is only a limited number of individuals who rise superior to the prejudices to which they give birth—prejudices, however, which are frequently of great utility, as well as the intellect which soars above them.

Much, with reference to the new states in America, must depend upon the direction in which the population increases. In most of the states of Europe no such question can, of course, arise; but it is not so in South America, and in what may be called the Spanish part of the northern continent; for there the ultimate solution of almost all problems of government and internal policy depends upon it. An increase of the Indian population greatly disproportionate to that of the other classes, would perhaps lead to results very different from those which, from present appearances, may be anticipated. A considerable augmentation, also, of some other classes, without a proportionate augmentation of that which holds the ascendancy, might lead to consequences inconsistent with good government, or with public tranquillity.

The governing party (consisting chiefly of the descendants of European Spaniards, who, with very few exceptions, were by the successive rulers of Spain excluded from any share of authority, and called by the Spaniards, as a term of degradation, Creoles) form only a limited proportion of the population. They are, however, naturally entitled to the ascendancy, from their large possessions and superior intellectual endowments: indeed they had, for a long period, considerable and increasing influence; and had Spain, only a very few years since, conciliated them by yielding a share of authority, Spanish America might still have remained a colonial appendage to the mother-country.

Refusing to give up a portion of her authority and patronage, in order to preserve the remainder, the consequence was, that

the whole was lost: and thus all the power of government has become vested in the native Americans. The latter, therefore, must now in their turn conciliate the other classes, in order the more firmly to secure their own authority, by uniting the whole population, from a sense of the superior advantages which they enjoy, in its support and defence.

This, from the varied nature of the population, and especially from the feelings which exist respecting colour, is, perhaps, not a very easy task. The independence, however, of the country, and its separation into distinct states, afford means of opening advantages to all classes of the community; which, rightly applied, may in time attain every object that can be sought for, with reference to the establishment of firm and popular governments.

Still, however, a variety of important considerations arise, which can scarcely yet be properly appreciated in Europe. Spanish America, though it possesses numerically a considerable population, is still, with reference to its extent, but thinly peopled. Its numbers may be augmented by emigration from Europe; but the transmission of individuals, or families, from one country to another at an immense distance, must necessarily be very limited; and in the course of a long series of years, the whole number of emigrants would be found to bear but a small proportion to the amount of the population of the territory, in which they had become domiciliated.

There is, perhaps, no subject respecting which the imagination so far outstrips the reality as that of emigration. Fancy pourtrays an immense number of individuals

proceeding, with great elation of hope, to another land; and depicts the most brilliant results from the vast accession of numbers, industry, and wealth, thus acquired by the newly-sought country; but truth steps in and destroys the illusion. No country of any extent can be peopled at once by emigration; nor, speaking generally, does wealth change its quarters, except by slow degrees, or industry seek employment in a foreign land, except through necessity, or from the assured or understood prospect of greater advantages.

The population, therefore, of any country msut, for the greater part, originate in the country itself. This has been the case with all territories colonized by Europeans; and thus it is, that when considerable tracts of land have become, to a certain extent, peopled, a spirit of independence is engendered amongst the indigenous population;

who cannot, of course, participate very largely in those feelings of attachment to the mother-country, or in that consciousness of the want of its support which actuated the original settlers.

In the United States of America, the population, with the exception, of course, of the slaves and a limited number of people of colour, retains, generally, an unmixed character; the Indians there, as civilization advances, are continually driven beyond its pale; and neither the emigration of Europeans (not being natives of the British Empire), nor any other cause, has been sufficient to turn aside the original impress of British government and law, given at the time of the first colonization: all the elements that enter into the internal system of polity of the United States are decidedly British, but combined, in some respects, in a different manner, in consequence of the circum-

stances under which their independence was established, and of the difference between a new country and an old one. In the United States, also, the agricultural system differs but little, or at least not in essential points, from that of Europe,—requiring, as it does, continual labour and attention; and in other respects the feelings and habits of the population are similar to those, speaking generally, of the inhabitants of Europe.

In Spanish America, on the contrary, there are many striking points of difference. There, the population has become varied and intermingled, passing through a variety of shades and hues of colour; and comprising different races, with separate sets of feelings and habits attached to each. The original settlement of the country, founded, as it was, in sanguinary conquest, and supported by tyranny, left no room for the introduction of any good system of government; and

though, subsequently, the subordinate framework and machinery of the internal polity of Spain were made applicable in her colonies, there never existed amongst the population of the latter, that identity of interest, and that unison of feeling, which were apparent amongst the people of the British provinces in North America.

The prevalent spirit, in the two portions of the American continent, was of course different; the British Constitution was carried to the British colonies and settlements, and its principles of freedom pervaded all the institutions established there, as well as the whole mass of the people: from the arbitrary government of Spain, on the other hand, nothing could of course be expected, but the extension of a similar system to its colonies. Thus the contests carried on by the two sections of America, for independence, became different in their nature, and vary

materially in their results: that embarked in by the British provinces in North America, though conducted for some time with much bitterness of hostility, was not stained (with a few exceptions) by any acts inconsistent with civilized warfare; whilst the sanguinary civil war, which so long raged in Spanish America, was unhappily characterized by atrocities disgraceful, not only to civilized men, but even to human nature in its lowest state of degradation.

The results also have been in many respects widely different. Great Britain, finding the contest hopeless, wisely acknowledged the independence of her late colonies, and has derived from the United States of America infinitely greater advantages, with reference to the increase of her commerce, and of her wealth, than she could by any possibility have received from them, had they continued her colonies. Spain, on

the contrary, persists in dragging on a contest, without the least hope of ultimate success; refuses to acknowledge that independence which seems to be now established, or establishing, without the least chance of its being overthrown; and thus throws away all the advantages which she might otherwise obtain, from a commercial intercourse with the Hispano-American States.

A remarkable difference may likewise be traced in the feelings of the people of the two great divisions of America with regard to their respective mother-countries. That in English America a considerable attachment to Great Britain existed, there is no doubt: how far, by means of any different measures pursued at home, that attachment might have been rendered available to prevent the separation of the colonies from the parent state, is a question that is not now worth considering; because it must be

abundantly obvious, that a continent like North America, when it became numerously peopled, could not, in the nature of things, continue to be a mere colonial appendage of England. But this feeling of attachment was very soon merged in an ardent desire for independence; and that attained, the mother-country and her late colonies came at once into a state of relations with each other, little different from that which subsists between Great Britain and any European power.

The attachment, on the other hand, of the Hispano-Americans to their mother-country, was not only deep-rooted, and partaking of considerable intensity of feeling, but it long continued, in spite of ill usage and oppression. It may indeed be doubted, whether it would at last have yielded to a spirit of independence, had it not been for the peculiar circumstances in which

Spain was placed, by the revolution that occurred there, and the strange and infatuated policy, with regard to Spanish America, which was adopted and acted upon by the individuals who successively claimed or exercised authority in the mother-country, during the absence of the sovereign, or during the contest as to who was to be considered the sovereign. The attachment of the Hispano-Americans to the parent state then gave way to a feeling of independence; but with the restoration of Ferdinand VII. to the throne, it again revived to a considerable extent, but has since then, from his impolitic conduct, entirely subsided, and Spanish America may be considered as lost to the mother-country for ever.

This anomaly may, perhaps, be attributed to the character of the Spanish institutions, which are themselves, in a certain degree, anomalous: originating in principles of free-

dom, they became gradually warped and corrupted, so as to leave only names in the place of realities; but still, though tyranny was thus placed at the apex of the pyramid, and extended far along its sides, it did not reach the base; the higher and the middle classes were alternately the agents and the victims of tyranny; but the lower ranks enjoyed a considerable portion of actual liberty. The Hispano-Americans could only effect the independence of their country by means of representative constitutions; but for this purpose, the machinery was to be created; and to such a system many of them were decidedly averse; others wished to establish a sort of half independence, carrying on their own government, but acknowledging the sovereignty of the King of Spain.

In this state of difficulty, and with opinions clashing, sometimes not very amicably, the mother-country was looked to

very anxiously by many; and there is little doubt that, by making certain concessions, Spain might have preserved her ascendancy. It was only when they were urged to the last extremity, when not only there did not remain the most distant hope of concession on the part of the mother-country, but when they found that they must either advance or be sacrificed to the vengeance of the parent state, that the Hispano-Americans united in despair, to effect the work of independence.

To graft free constitutions upon the stock of Spanish laws, was a labour of no ordinary difficulty; to pull down the whole edifice, in order to erect a new one, was impossible; too many individuals were interested in the continuance of the privileges which, in many instances, the law of Spain conferred, to allow of such an attempt being for a moment contemplated. Thus, as in

the case of the Republic of Colombia, the old laws are left as they were, with merely the general proviso, that they shall not operate in contravention of any article of the Constitution; and that they shall, as of course they must, be subject to any alteration which may be made in them by the congress.

Another difficulty arose out of the state of property. In some parts of Hispano-America, individuals possessed fortunes much larger than any enjoyed in Europe: these persons would not, perhaps, be very friendly to a free republic; and the danger would be, that through the influence attached to wealth, especially to immense landed estates, a republic would, in effect, become an oligarchy. Some of them might also combine to establish an oligarchical species of government, under the name of a republic; but which, in reality, should give

all the power and authority to themselves. Opinions, deriving their source from one or other of these considerations, and alternately prevailing, have, perhaps, caused that oscillation between monarchy and republicanism which has marked the career of public affairs in Mexico.

Thus a great number of circumstances combine to render it impossible to form any decided opinion as to the future political state of Spanish America; except, that there is not the slightest probability of its again returning under the dominion of Spain. Indeed, after being placed in a situation to participate in, and appreciate the advantages of a free commerce, it is impossible to suppose that the Hispano-Americans would voluntarily surrender them, and give themselves up to the tyranny of Spain.

It is true, as the progress of the contest has clearly shown, that there are, in Spanish America, conflicting interests, and various parties holding different, and sometimes opposite political opinions; but it has also been proved, that these parties are ready to suspend their differences, for the sake of securing the great object of independence.

It may reasonably be doubted, whether the new systems and the old one can work well together; and as the revolutionizing the country in the extensive sense of that term, is altogether out of the question, it must necessarily be the labour of years, and one too of infinite difficulty, to make a compromise of different interests, in order firmly to establish well-arranged governments, and to render the details of the constitutions equivalent in value to the general principles upon which they are based.

To harmonize the constitutions and governments with the feelings, the habits, and the prejudices of the mixed and different races of the population, will indeed be a task of no ordinary difficulty; especially in a country where freedom is a newly-arrived stranger, with whom it requires a considerable time to be on a footing of easy intimacy. There is, perhaps, no greater mistake, than that in order to be free, a nation has only to will it. That it may at once throw off a tyranny which oppressed it, there is, of course, no doubt; but if the principles of freedom are not understood in their practical effect, the result may be merely the substitution of one tyranny for another.

In order that those principles may be rightly understood and justly appreciated by a nation, the mere will of any body of men is as powerless as the paper upon

which it is recorded;—an intellectual machinery must be formed and set in motion, in order to produce that disposition of mind, which may enable the people at once to enjoy, and carry into effect, the advantages and the principles of a free constitution. Without this, freedom, though it is true it may be to a certain extent possessed by one portion of a population, will be to the other classes a mere name.

Much, therefore, remains to be done in Spanish America, and the manner in which it is done is by no means uninteresting to Europe, whose future relations with the American states must be sensibly affected by the modes, the forms, and the characters of their institutions. The commerce between the two continents must, in the nature of things, unless forcibly impeded by arbitrary regulations, be most varied and extensive.

The great majority of the natural products of Spanish America are essential to the wants of Europe, and most of the manufactured articles of Europe find a ready market in Spanish America: thus the acts of governments and of legislatures in both continents become reciprocally of great importance.

Not only this, but the direction taken by the progress of civilization in South America becomes of the highest interest in Europe, in consequence of the vast difference in many respects, internally, between the former and the latter. In Europe, the portion of land necessary for the subsistence of a given number of individuals can be made the subject of a tolerably accurate calculation. It is the same also in the United States of America: agriculture can be carried to a certain extent, but no further.

In South America the case is widely different. Agriculture, in the sense in which it is understood in Europe, is there, in many quarters, little known: by means of a little cultivation, a small portion of land can be made to produce sufficient for the subsistence of a population almost incalculably greater than could be sustained by a similar surface of soil in Europe. Thus the Indians and the mixed races may increase to an extent which it is at present difficult to imagine. The effect of such an augmentation of population in that direction time alone can develope; but it appears that Spanish America must, at some future period, be looked to for the solution of the great problem, whether Indians and Negroes, and mixed races deriving their descent from both, can be amalgamated with the descendants of Europeans in civilized society, under one description of government, or one form of constitution.

Hitherto, it is well known that feelings, or habits, or prejudices, whatever term may be adopted, have prevented that amalgamation of different-coloured races into one compact society. It is true, that persons of colour are members of political societies in the United States, and in the West India Islands; but it is needless to add, what is notorious to the world, that they are very far from being an integral part of any state hitherto existing, in which Europeans, or the descendants of Europeans, have the ascendancy.

It remains to be ascertained, whether the separation of races is a law, the operation of which cannot be set aside by any human means; or whether it is merely the effect of certain habits, the force of which may be overcome by institutions adapted to the purpose. Upon the solution of this problem, however, mainly depends the fu-

ture political situation of Spanish America: it being obvious, that if the separation of races be an unchangeable law, however they may be brought together in some kind of apparent union, a great augmentation in the numbers of some of those races must have a most material effect with reference to the adoption of any internal system of polity.

In the United States of America no attempt has ever been made to render the Indians a component part of civil society; and persons of colour are generally considered as inferior and degraded beings. In Spanish America, a number of the Indians have been, in some degree, apparently civilized, though it is doubtful whether their dispositions or habits have been much changed; but the feelings respecting colour are there also very decided—the relative rank or importance of individuals

being, in a great measure, determined by their greater or lesser approximation in colour to white. In the United States the whites have a great numerical superiority, and their vast increase ensures it to them; whilst from the policy adopted towards the Indians, the number of the latter is continually diminishing. In Spanish America, the Indians have greatly increased in numbers, and there has also sprung up a very considerable population of all shades of colour; the descendants of Europeans holding the first place in rank, as in colour, and thus having the ascendancy.

It remains to be seen whether, when the pressure of Spanish power is altogether withdrawn, and no dread of it remains, all these races can cordially unite in political society; or whether they will range under different banners their respective notions of government and internal policy.

Considerations of this description are of great importance to Europe, not only with a view to the future welfare of so large a portion of mankind, but also with reference to that commercial intercourse, from which such immense advantages may be derived. By means of the cultivation applied to the soil of Spanish America, sustenance may be obtained for a vast population; whilst, by the application of capital, skill, and industry, the amount of those products, which are wanted in Europe, may be immensely increased. Thus the demand for the manufactured articles of Europe will be augmented, in proportion to the increase of the population of Spanish America; and the means possessed by the latter of paying for them, will be in a proportionate ratio.

It is impossible to calculate the vast increase which must thus, in a course of years, take place in the commerce between

the two continents; a large proportion of which must, in the nature of things, fall to the share of Great Britain, whose facilities of manufacture far exceed those of any other nation. It is, therefore, of course most material to watch the progress of events in Spanish America, and throughout the whole of the southern peninsula, in order to be ready to derive from them those advantages which, whatever course they may now take, they are capable of producing.

The considerations before adverted to, may be more or less applied to the whole extent of territory, from California to Cape Horn, having for its boundaries the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans; including vast tracts which are still little, if at all, known, and having a population which, if increased tenfold, would still be small in amount, compared with the immense regions they

inhabit—a territory producing gold, silver, platina, copper, pearls, sugar, coffee, cocoa, tobacco, cotton, indigo, vanilla, cochineal, dying woods, gums, resins, and balsams; sarsaparilla, cinchona, contrayerva, and wood of every species; in short, almost every article, except tea (and that may be produced there), which is imported into Europe from any part of the world: having an immense number of mines, the value of which it is impossible to estimate, and possessing the means of producing all the articles of vegetable growth which enter into commerce, to an amount much more than sufficient to supply all Europe and North America, as well as its own population, however it might increase.

Some idea may be formed of the extent of this immense territory, and of its vast natural resources, when it is known that

the Republic of Colombia, which only comprises the north-west section of South America and the Isthmus of Panama, is seven times larger than the British Isles. It is in this republic that the cause of independence appears to be embraced with the most fervent ardour and the most devoted zeal; and possessing, as it does, in a peculiar degree, almost all the resources of commerce, its proceedings and policy become objects of the greatest interest to Great Britain and to Europe.

The following sketch will be found to contain a condensed summary of the events which took place, during the rise and progress of the contest for independence, in Spanish America.

CHAPTER VI.

OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF SPANISH AMERICA.

FIRST SETTLERS—TYRANNY OF THE MOTHER-COUNTRY—ATTEMPTS AT REVOLUTION—MIRANDA.

According to special contract entered into between the crown of Spain, and the discoverers, conquerors, and settlers of Spanish America, they were to be the Lords of the country, holding, by a sort of feudal tenure, their lands, or fiefs, under the name of *Encomendéros*. The conduct, however, of these petty sovereigns towards the natives

was so inhuman, that Charles V., and his successors, found themselves under the necessity of gradually depriving them of many of their privileges; and thus, in most of the provinces, the *Encomiendas* fell at length into the hands of the crown; certain immunities of an inferior description, together with patents of nobility, being granted to their possessors, instead of the authority which they originally possessed.

From that period, Spanish America was nominally considered as an independent kingdom, but united to Spain; and the natives were declared subjects of the king, in the same manner as the Castilians. The council of the Indies was formed for the express purpose of legislating (in conjunction with the King of Spain) for Spanish America; a code was instituted, called *Recopilacion de Indias;* and various enactments and regula-

tions were made, having apparently for their object a confirmation to the natives of Spanish America, of all those privileges to which, as subjects of the king, upon the same footing as his subjects in the mother-country, they were justly entitled. Had these laws and regulations been really, and in good faith, acted upon, Spanish America might still have been a most valuable appendage to the crown of Spain, much more valuable, indeed, than it ever was under the administration of the successive governments by which it was ruled.

It is well known, however, that under the system inflexibly pursued by the government of Spain, the independence of Spanish America, and the privileges of its natives, became mere fictions of law. A number was put together, of what were denominated laws, in decrees, in proclamations, and

in other documents; but whatever might be their obvious meaning, they were always interpreted in such a manner, by the Spanish authorities, as might enforce the abject submission of the natives of Spanish America to the will of the government of Spain, whether signified by its own acts, or those of its agents.

Something, indeed, was occasionally conceded, but frequently more in name than in reality; and whatever was done, care was always taken closely to adhere to that most illiberal, but not the less unvarying, line of policy, which so absurdly led the government of Spain, in spite of whatever circumstances, to render the Spanish Americans dependent for every thing upon the mother-country; even almost for the necessaries of life, under which description are comprehended several articles which they

were only allowed to obtain, at heavy additional cost, through Spain.

Spanish America was politically divided into the vice-royalties of New Spain, or Mexico, Santa Fé de Bogotá, or New Grenada, Peru, Buenos-Ayres, or the provinces of Rio de la Plata, and the captain-generalships of Guatemala, Venezuela, and Chili. The viceroys and captains-general of these territories were appointed by the King of Spain, and acted independently of each other. The vice-royalties and captain-generalships were subdivided into *Intendencias* and provinces, over which presided *Intendentes, Gobernadores,* or *Corregidores,* who were also appointed by the king, but who were dependent upon the viceroys or captains-general. These provinces were likewise subdivided into departments, in which resided the delegates of the chiefs of the provinces, and the judges, called *Alcaldes,* who were nomi-

nated by the *Cabildos*, or municipalities, in order to maintain the civil power. The military commands were generally vested in the viceroys and captains-general; but sometimes they were separately held by officers called *Commandantes*. The *Cabildos*, or municipal corporations, had the sub-government of the towns and surrounding districts.

With respect to the administration of justice, it would be useless to enumerate the various courts and judicial officers: from their decisions, in certain cases, appeals might be made to, and in others they must be confirmed by, the supreme courts or *audiencias*, which held their sittings at Mexico, Guadalaxara, Guatemala, Caraccas, Santa Fé de Bogotá, Quito, Lima, Cusco, Chuquisaca, Chili, and Buenos-Ayres. Some cases were, by the latter courts, tried in the first instance.

Of the church establishment it is needless to speak, it being similar to that which existed in Spain.

Under this system of internal administration, the South Americans might have been governed mildly, and with a due regard to their interests and welfare. Some of the machinery was good, but it was generally worked in a wrong direction, and so as to produce not only mere negative advantage, but positive injury to those for whose good it was nominally intended. It was held out to the world, by the government of Spain, that the South American provinces were considered as integral parts of the Spanish monarchy; whilst in reality they were treated as colonies, and that too in the most restricted sense of the term. The privileges of the natives were construed to mean anything or nothing, at the will and pleasure of the Spanish authorities; and

they were, in fact, despotically ruled by a distant government, which had neither the means nor the inclination to attend to their complaints or to redress their grievances. It is a well-known fact, that the agents of Spain, in South America, generally had opportunities to deceive their government, as to any circumstances which they wished to conceal or misrepresent; and thus the government, disinclined from system to do any thing favourable to the natives, was frequently destitute of the requisite information to enable it to act, had it been so inclined, with justice or with good policy.

The great error, however, was in the system of rule established in South America by the Spanish government, under the mask of a liberal policy; but which was framed with the narrowest views, for the sole purpose of exclusively benefitting the mother-country, without the slightest regard to the

interests of the Spanish Americans, who, considered as so many beasts of burden, were held to be sufficiently remunerated, if they had food enough to keep them alive and to enable them to labour for their masters.

In the progress of acting for a long period upon this system, there were, of course, exceptions, as there must be in every system. The descendants of Spaniards, born in South America, could not be treated precisely in the same manner as the aborigines of the country; more especially those who had acquired great property and influence: but still the system of the government was closely adhered to, and only relaxed where some considerations of powerful weight rendered it unavoidable, or through the operation of some of those secret springs, which not unfrequently have a considerable effect upon the movements of a court.

These exceptions, however, were comparatively few; and a system, under which the most enlightened natives of Spanish America, although descended from Spaniards, were considered inferior to the meanest individual born in Spain, could not but engender a discontent, which would of course be augmented as the population increased. Such was the fact; and the Spanish government discovered too late (though perhaps it is not yet convinced of the fact), that a population of thirteen millions, including a great number of men of talent and enlightened individuals, would not continue to be subjected to that oppressive sway which had been compulsorily submitted to by a smaller number.

To shew the character of the bondage in which the Spanish Americans were held, it will be sufficient to quote a few of the grievances of which they complained:—

1st. The arbitrary power exercised by the viceroys and captains-general, who very frequently evaded the laws, and even the orders which they received from the King. 2nd. That the *audiencias* were composed solely of Europeans, who interpreted the laws as they pleased. 3rd. That under the authority of the *audiencias*, clandestine decrees in causes were often made; nocturnal arrests took place; persons were banished without previous trial, and numerous other acts of injustice were committed. 4th. That they (the native Spanish Americans) were treated with distrust by the government, notwithstanding the loyalty and courage which, upon several occasions, they had manifested in defence of the rights of the Crown of Spain. 5th. That they were obliged to bear insults from the meanest of the Spaniards, who, merely upon account of their European birth, considered themselves superior to, and as it were the mas-

ters of, the Spanish Americans. As an instance of this kind of feeling, a report is quoted, which was made to the King by his fiscal, upon the petition of the city of Merida de Maracaybo, in Venezuela, to found an university: the opinion of the fiscal was, that "the petition was to be refused, *because it was unsuitable to promote learning in Spanish America, where the inhabitants appeared destined by nature to work in the mines.*" After a pretended solemn deliberation of the *Consulada*, or Board of Trade, in Mexico, the members informed the Cortes, that "*the Indians were a race of monkeys, filled with vice and ignorance; automatons unworthy of representing or being represented.*" 6th. That notwithstanding the original compact made between the King and the first settlers in Spanish America, which stipulated "that in all cases of government, justice, administration of finances, commissions, &c., the first discoverers, then the *Pacificadores*, and

lastly, the settlers, and those born in the said provinces, were to be preferred in all appointments and public employments—" the Creoles were gradually shut out from all participation in local commands and dignities; that they were also prohibited from visiting the mother-country, without the express permission of the King, which could not be obtained but with much difficulty. 7th. That the South Americans were prohibited from making wine or brandy, or extracting oils, and from planting vines or almond trees, except in Peru or Chili, or from cultivating more than a specified and limited number of tobacco-plants; whilst the wine, almonds, &c. produced in Peru and Chili, were not permitted to be sent to Mexico, New Grenada, or Terra Firma; and it was forbidden to cultivate tobacco or the sugar-cane in Chili. 8th. That in order to check the progress of population, and to keep distinct the different classes,

there were many laws tending to throw obstacles in the way of marriages.

Considering the oppressive, vexatious, and degrading character of these and similar restrictions, and the utter contempt for the feelings of the South Americans, which was manifested in almost every act by the Spanish government and its agents, it may be a matter of surprise, that resistance to such an overbearing sway was not earlier manifested, or sooner organized. But the apathy of the Creoles, and the respect they entertained for Spain, notwithstanding all the oppression they endured; the intellectual weakness of the Indians, and the state of ignorance and political insignificance in which the other races were kept, serve sufficiently to account for that sort of blind submission with which they obeyed the dictates of the Spanish government and of its agents.

The same causes also operated to enable the government of Spain, aided by the watchfulness of its agents, and the vigilance of the Inquisition, to stifle the projects of independence, which were from time to time formed by enterprizing individuals.

Thus, for a considerable period, all attempts to excite resistance, or realize a spirit of independence, in Spanish America, were merely partial, and were defeated, with more or less difficulty, by the authority of the government. The first effort entitled to any notice was a plan of conspiracy formed in Caraccas, about the middle of last century, by a Canarian, named Leon; who, believing his partisans to be numerous, and trusting to their support, intended to destroy the company of Guipuscoa, to which the privilege had been granted of exclusively trading with Venezuela. His

design, however, was discovered and frustrated; he was condemned to death, his house razed to the ground, and a column was erected upon the spot, to keep alive the memory of his infamous project. The perpetuation of detestation and horror at attempts made against its authority, has been frequently a favourite measure of the government of Spain, in Spanish America; but it may be doubted whether this sort of commemoration has not, in some measure, served to promote and cherish a spirit of independence.

The second effort was the insurrection which took place in Peru, in the year 1780. This received its chief support from the discontent of the Indians, who were reduced to the most abject state, in consequence of the oppressive weight of the system of the *Repartimientos*. Under this system, they were obliged to receive their

necessary supplies of goods, hardware, and mules, from the *Corregidores,* at the prices fixed by the latter, and on the credit which they thought proper to give.

Notwithstanding, however, the oppression and injustice to which they were thus subjected, it is probable that they would have submitted to it, as it were, in despair for a considerable period, had not other acts of injustice furnished them with a leader. Don J. G. Tupac-Amaru, having been unjustly treated by the Audiencia of Lima, and insulted by a corregidor, was stimulated to take advantage of the combustible materials, which were then in train and all ready to be exploded by an adventurous hand.

At the instigation of Tupac-Amaru, a spirit of resistance soon spread itself for three hundred leagues through the interior

of the country. The contest, which was attended with much bloodshed, continued for three years, with various success. At one time, Tupac-Amaru was saluted as Inca of Peru. His conduct, however, was not conciliatory, and the efforts of the Indians becoming feeble, owing in some measure to the want of a sufficient supply of arms and ammunition, a combined attack by the troops of Buenos-Ayres and Lima, aided by the greater part of the people, amongst whom a feeling in favour of Spain still very generally existed, prevailed over the insurgents, who were entirely defeated.

This success, like too many others at a later period in Spanish America, was marked by circumstances of great cruelty—Tupac-Amaru, and many of the leaders of the insurrection, being put to death in a manner revolting to humanity.

The third attempt was an insurrection which took place in 1781, in the province of Socorro, one of the most populous of the Viceroyalty of New Grenada, in consequence of some additional taxes imposed by the Regente Pineres. The inhabitants of this province, having assembled nearly seventeen thousand men, marched against Santa Fé de Bogotá, shouting "Long live the King, but death to our bad government!" They proceeded in triumph till they reached the plain called Mortino, about twelve leagues from Bogotá, where they met the archbishop Gongora, dressed in his full robes, and holding in his hands the Host. This unexpected encounter induced the Socorrenos to halt, and the archbishop, availing himself of the impression thus made, proposed to their leader, Don Salvador Plata, to hold a conference. This stratagem had the effect that was intended: terms of accommodation were agreed upon, and the

Socorrenos dispersed; but they afterwards complained that the articles of agreement were never fulfilled; a complaint which has been too often and too justly made within a few years past, against the government authorities in Spanish America, whose repeated and shameless breaches of faith in this respect, have perhaps contributed more than any other circumstance, to exasperate and render more determined their opponents.

A project was formed in 1794, by Don A. Narino, who afterwards distinguished himself in the war for independence, for bringing about a revolution in Caraccas. It was, however, discovered in 1797, before any step could be openly taken for carrying it into effect. The ostensible leaders, Don M. Gual, and Don R. M. Espana, made their escape to the neighbouring island: Espana returned two years afterwards to La Guayra, but, being discovered, he was

hanged. A proclamation, dated the 26th of June, 1797, was issued by Sir Thomas Picton, then Governor of Trinidad, and addressed to the Governors of the contiguous Islands, in which, with reference to what was then in agitation in the adjacent parts of the Spanish American continent, and to the instructions which he had received from the Right Hon. Henry Dundas (afterwards Viscount Melville), then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, he says: "With regard to the hopes you entertain of raising the spirits of those persons with whom you are in correspondence, towards encouraging the inhabitants to resist the oppressive authority of their government, I have little more to say, than that they may be certain, that whenever they are in that disposition, they may receive at your hands all the succours to be expected from his Britannic Majesty, be it with forces, or with arms and ammunition, to any extent; with the

assurance, that the views of his Britannic Majesty go no further than to secure to them their independence, without pretending to any sovereignty over their country, or even to interfere in the privileges of the people, or in their political, civil, or religious rights."

This reference to the views of the British government leads me to the project of General Miranda, and to the encouragement which he received in this country, with a view to carrying that project into effect. Whatever ideas may at different times have passed through the minds of Spanish Americans, Miranda appears to have been the first who matured a general plan of independence. Upwards of forty years since he was occupied with a project of this description; and nearly that period has now elapsed since he first proposed to Mr. Pitt, the then Prime Minister, his plan for achiev-

ing the independence of Spanish America, and to which that minister, there being then a question at issue with Spain (respecting Nootka Sound), which for a time threatened hostility, readily gave his approbation, and promised the aid of Great Britain. The question with Spain was, however, adjusted by negotiation, and thus Miranda's prospect of being enabled to attempt the great work of the independence of his country, was for a considerable period obscured.

In November 1792, the Republican rulers of France conceived the idea of revolutionizing Spanish America, by means of French troops and mulattoes drawn from the colonies; and they proposed to Miranda, who was at that time serving with Dumourier, in the Netherlands, to take the command. Miranda, however, not altogether according with their views, or approving of the means which they proposed to employ,

urged objections, which led to further correspondence and consultation; but ultimately the project was relinquished.

It was for a considerable period afterwards little thought of in Europe, though it is evident, from the proclamation of Sir Thomas Picton, that it had seriously occupied the attention of the British Cabinet. In the mean time, however, the spirit of independence had taken deep root in Spanish America; and in the year 1797, Miranda was met at Paris by deputies and commissioners from Mexico, and the other principal provinces of Spanish America, who had been sent to Europe for the purpose of concerting with him the measures to be adopted for accomplishing the independence of their country.

At this meeting it was decided that Miranda should again repair to England, and,

in the name of the Spanish American deputies and commissioners, make such offers to the British government, as might, probably, induce it to lend the requisite assistance.

For this purpose a document was drawn up, and put into the hands of Miranda, containing the proposals of the Spanish American Representatives to the British Cabinet. This instrument, which is dated at Paris, the 22d December 1797, consisted of eleven articles, and it may of course be considered as complete evidence of the views and plans then entertained by the Spanish American leaders, with reference to the projected independence of their country. The first article stated the determination of the Hispano-American colonies to proclaim their independence, and to apply to Great Britain for assistance. The second stipulated that the sum of thirty millions sterling

should be paid by Spanish America to Great Britain for the assistance required. The third stated the amount of British force which was considered requisite. The fourth recommended a defensive alliance between England, the United States of America, and South America. The fifth related to a treaty of commerce between Great Britain and South America. The sixth stipulated the opening of the navigation between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, by cutting across the Isthmus of Panama; and the guarantee of its freedom to the British nation. The seventh referred to the commercial arrangements between the different parts of South America. The eighth related to a project in contemplation for forming a connexion between the Bank of England and those of Lima and Mexico, for the purpose of mutual support, and for giving to England a certain degree of power over the precious metals yielded by Spanish

America. The ninth and tenth referred to a project of alliance between South America and the United States; the former ceding to the latter the Floridas, and the United States, in return, rendering assistance by means of a small military force. The eleventh announced the intention of resigning all the Spanish Islands, with the exception of Cuba, the possession of which was considered necessary, in consequence of this island commanding the passage of the Gulf of Mexico.

A proposal for the return of General Miranda to this country having been transmitted to Mr. Pitt, it was immediately acceded to; and the General had a conference with that minister in January 1798. The emancipation of Spanish America being at that period in perfect accordance with the views of Mr. Pitt, an outline of intended proceedings was soon fully agreed upon;

and Miranda, in a letter to Mr. Hamilton, of the United States, dated the 6th April, 1798, thought himself justified in anticipating the near approach of the emancipation of his country. In another letter to the same gentleman, dated the 19th of October in the same year, he also spoke upon the same subject, with the most confident hopes; and observed, that all that was wanting was the fiat of the president. It appears, that the British government agreed to provide money and ships; and that it was proposed that the United States of America should furnish ten thousand troops. Mr. Adams, the then President of the United States, declined, however, to transmit an immediate answer; and the consequence was, that the project was, for a second time, postponed.

It was not afterwards revived, till the beginning of 1801, when Mr. Addington,

now Viscount Sidmouth, had succeeded as Prime Minister. Plans of government to be recommended to the inhabitants of Spanish America, were then considered and approved; military operations were sketched out and arranged; and even preparations were far advanced for the intended expedition; but the preliminaries of the peace of Amiens having in the interval been signed, the measure was again delayed.

The treaty of peace turned out, in effect, to be merely a truce, or a suspension of hostilities, and war was declared against France in 1803. The following year, when Mr. Pitt became again Prime Minister, war having been commenced with Spain, the consideration of the South American question was resumed; and Lord Melville and Sir Home Popham were employed in arranging the details of the projected proceedings with General Miranda. In consequence, however,

of the state of affairs in Europe, the execution of the plan was once more suspended.

The Spanish American exiles from the provinces of Caraccas and Santa Fé, residing in the United States of America and in the island of Trinidad, seeing their hopes and prospects in Europe thus crushed and blighted, prevailed at length upon General Miranda to quit this country, and to make an effort in their behalf, aided only by those means which America itself could furnish. Any active assistance from Great Britain, was then out of the question; but there was an understanding on the part of the British government in favour of the projected expedition; and, as it is believed, a promise of ultimate support; there appeared, besides, little danger of any body of French or Spanish troops crossing the Atlantic, of sufficient force to have any material effect in counteracting the views of the Independents.

The disputes also at that time subsisting between the United States of America and Spain, respecting Louisiana, afforded Miranda a hope, that from the former he might be enabled to obtain all the assistance which the service he was going upon required.

Miranda, however, upon his arrival in the United States, had the mortification to find that a compromise had taken place upon the subject of Louisiana, and that, in consequence, the public aid of the government could not be obtained; although he was received by the President and the members of the government with much distinction. He had, however, intimations from different quarters, which encouraged him to suppose, that, by dint of private exertions and resources, adequate means for the projected enterprise might be obtained, or at least, so much of the *materiel*, as might serve to enable him to establish himself in some

position, where he might collect around him those resources, which, of course, must in a great measure be furnished by the country to which he was proceeding.

Under these circumstances, Miranda's expedition to Caraccas took place in 1806. That it failed, is not to be attributed to Miranda himself; unless, perhaps, in so far as he too eagerly calculated upon means and resources over which he had no control; for, feeble as his force was, he effected a good landing at Coro, and took up a position the most advantageous that could have been chosen, upon a considerable extent of coast. The chief causes of the failure appear, after all, to have been the intelligence treacherously conveyed to the Spaniards, and the misconduct of some American shipmasters employed in the expedition. And even with all these drawbacks, it is believed, that had the British

government lent a little assistance, a declaration of independence would then have been made by the province of Caraccas.

It cannot, however, be denied, that there were considerable differences of opinion amongst the leading men in Caraccas, as there were, and have been at different periods, in other sections of Spanish America, with regard to the form of constitution and government which it would be most advisable to adopt; nor can it be concealed, that in some instances, individual ambition had a large share in producing and fomenting these disputes, which were sometimes even carried on to the length of open hostility, and led to much bloodshed.

Whether any of these bickerings or jealousies contributed to the failure of the expedition in 1806, it is not easy to ascertain. There is now no doubt of the

purity of Miranda's intentions; but subsequent events proved that he entertained different opinions respecting the establishment of a constitution, from those held or declared by other chiefs of the Independents.

Unfortunately, too, the permission which he had received to recruit in the Islands of Trinidad and Barbadoes, was at this period revoked, in consequence of instructions sent from England; according to which the assistance to be rendered to him was limited to protection from the naval force of the enemy,—to the preventing of succours from being landed,—and to the securing of his re-embarkation in the event of his being obliged to depart.

These causes, more or less combined, operated to render unsuccessful the expedition of Miranda in 1806. He returned to England when the administration of Mr.

Fox and Lord Grenville had been succeeded by that of the Duke of Portland, Mr. Percival, the Earl of Liverpool and others, who were then heartily disposed to give the aid of the British government to the scheme for the emancipation of Spanish America.

This policy, however, was soon afterwards changed, in consequence of the events which took place in Spain; and the effect of which was to render Great Britain the ally of the Spanish nation against the ambition of Napoleon Bonaparte. The relations which thus sprung up between Great Britain and Spain, of course, put out of the question all idea of employing a British force to assist in detaching the Spanish colonies from the mother-country.

It then became the policy of Bonaparte to obtain a command, if possible, over the

resources of Spanish America; and to achieve this object, every means were employed that the cunning of himself or his ministers could devise. But to the accomplishment of this purpose there were insuperable obstacles: the French not only had no party in Spanish America, but they were, throughout the country, or very nearly so, disliked and despised. Many of the Spanish viceroys and governors, in order to maintain their own power, would willingly have transferred their allegiance to Joseph Bonaparte, as the nominal King of Spain; but however they might, in some instances, for a time succeed, it was invariably found ultimately, that the people were resolutely determined not to recognise any French authority.

Those feelings so hostile to the French, which actuated the Spanish Americans, as well as their attachment to England, are

strikingly exemplified in the following letter from Captain Beaver to Sir Alexander Cochrane, at that time Commander-in-Chief of the Leeward Island station in the West Indies, dated La Guayra, the 19th of July, 1808:

"Sir,—Events of singular importance occurring at present in the province of Venezuela, I have thought it necessary to despatch to you, without loss of time, the late French corvette Le Serpent, in order that you might, as early as possible, be made acquainted with those events which have already occurred, as well as be able to form some opinion of those which will probably follow.

"The port of La Guayra I made in the morning of the 15th, and while standing in for the shore, with the cartel flag flying, I observed a brig under French colours just coming to an anchor. She had arrived the

preceding night from Cayenne, with despatches from Bayonne, and had anchored about two miles from the town, to which she was now removing. I was never nearer than five miles to her, and could not have thrown a shot over her before she was close under the Spanish batteries, and therefore I did not attempt to chase.

" Just before I set out for Caraccas, the captain of the French brig returned, exceedingly displeased, I was told,—having been publicly insulted in that city.

" About three o'clock I arrived at Caraccas, and presented your despatches to the captain-general, who received me very coldly, or rather uncivilly; observing, that that hour was very inconvenient to him and to me; and that as I had not dined, I had better go and get some dinner, and return to him in a couple of hours.

" On entering the city, I observed a great effervescence among the people, like something which either precedes or follows a popular commotion; and as I entered the large inn of the city, I was surrounded by inhabitants of almost all classes.

" I here learned that the French captain who had arrived yesterday, had brought intelligence of every thing which had taken place in Spain in favour of France; that he had announced the accession to the Spanish throne of Joseph Bonaparte, and had brought orders to the government from the French Emperor.

" The city was immediately in arms; ten thousand of its inhabitants surrounded the residence of the captain-general, and demanded the proclamation of Ferdinand the VIIth. as their king; which he promised the

next day. But this would not satisfy them; they proclaimed him that evening by heralds in form, throughout the city, and placed his portrait, illuminated, in the gallery of the town-house.

"The French were first publicly insulted in the coffee-house, from whence they were obliged to withdraw; and the French captain left Caraccas privately, about eight o'clock that night, escorted by a detachment of soldiers, and so saved his life; for about ten o'clock his person was demanded of the governor by the populace; and when they learned that he was gone, three hundred men followed to put him to death.

"Though coldly received by the governor, I was surrounded by all the respectable inhabitants of the city, and hailed as their deliverer. The news which I gave them

from Cadiz was devoured with avidity, and produced enthusiastic shouts of gratitude to England.

"Returning to the governor about five o'clock, the first thing I demanded was the delivering to me the French corvette, or at least the permitting me to take possession of her in the roads, in consequence of the circumstances under which she had entered. Both these he positively refused, as well as to take possession of her himself; but, on the contrary, he told me he had given orders for her immediate sailing. I made him acquainted with the orders I had given for her seizure if she sailed, to which he assented; and I at the same time told him, that if she were not in the possession of the Spaniards at my return, I should take her myself. He replied, that he should send orders to the commandant of La Guayra to fire upon me if I did: to which I replied, that the conse-

quence would fall upon him; and I further told him, that I considered his reception of me at Caraccas as that of an enemy rather than of a friend, while at the same time I had brought him information of hostilities having ceased between Great Britain and Spain; and that his conduct towards the French was that of a friend, while he knew that Spain was at war with France. He replied, that Spain was not at war with France; to which I again replied, what could he consider as war, if the captivity of two of her kings, and taking possession of Madrid, were not to be so considered? He only replied, that he knew nothing of it from the Spanish government; and that what your despatches informed him of, he did not consider official."

It will be seen from this letter, that, at the period to which it refers, a strong feeling of attachment to the legitimate monarch

of Spain, and of regard for the mother-country, existed amongst the inhabitants of Caraccas. The same may be said of the other sections of Spanish America; and had the governing and legislative authorities of Spain adopted, and acted upon, a liberal system of policy towards the then colonies, it is impossible to say, whether they might not have enlisted on their side so large a proportion of the population of Spanish America, that those who desired, at all events, to render their country independent, would have been unable to accomplish their object.

On the contrary, however, nothing was done for the colonies, except in words: it is true that a share in the representation was conceded to them; but to the Spanish Americans this proved a mere vain and useless toy: their representatives in the Cortes, forming, as they did, a minority,

were unable, at any time, to persuade the majority, consisting of European Spaniards, to redress any of the grievances of their constituents, or, in the slightest degree, to mitigate the weight of oppression which had so long burdened the inhabitants of Spanish America. Not only this, but insult was frequently added to injury; thus in the first Cortes which assembled at Cadiz, the Spanish members, whilst they were eagerly anxious to obtain the freedom of their own country, seemed equally solicitous, in the same breath, to enslave the Spanish Americans. Some of them even betrayed a malignity which, impolitic as it was, to say the least of it, considering that they were speaking in the presence and hearing of the American members, who formed part of the Cortes, was rendered supremely ridiculous by its impotence. It was said by one, "If the Americans complain of having been tyran-

nized over for three hundred years, they shall now experience a similar treatment for three thousand." By another it was said, after the battle of Albufera, "I am rejoiced at the advantage we have gained, because we can now send troops to reduce the insurgents:" and by a third, "I do not know to what class of beasts the Americans belong."

It was utterly impossible but that such irritating and insulting language, accompanied by conduct the most harsh and unconciliating, must materially contribute to alienate the minds of the Spanish Americans. The latter, who at first took a warm and decided interest in the struggle of the mother-country, soon found that whatever party ruled in Spain, they were still to be considered as the beasts of burden; who were to be transferred to, and to be at the mercy of, the conqueror, without

the slightest chance of any amelioration in their condition.

Is it to be wondered at, that, under such circumstances, a large portion of the Spanish Americans should prefer a contest for independence, to remaining quiet under such a yoke? Still, however, after the war, which was thus provoked by the Spanish authorities and leaders, had commenced, there were moments when conciliation might have been interposed with the best effect; and when, had it been so, hostilities might probably have been put an end to, and the now South American States have, perhaps, still remained colonies of Spain. But conciliation formed no part of the system of Spanish rule, with reference to South America, whoever happened to be the rulers; on the contrary, every thing that was done seemed only intended for the purpose of exasperation.

It was the Spanish chiefs and rulers in South America who gave the first examples of violating capitulations and of shooting prisoners; practices by which even many barbarians would have considered themselves disgraced. It was they who, in cold blood, murdered numbers of the inhabitants of South America, merely to satiate their revenge; and who, upon many others, inflicted in the same spirit the greatest, the most monstrous cruelties, without even the semblance of justice.

Instances of treachery and inhumanity of this description were unhappily so numerous, that the following may be considered as only a selection from them, anticipating at the same time, as they do in some degree, the events which remain to be noticed. When General Miranda delivered up, by capitulation, the fort of La Guayra, the city of Caraccas, and the provinces of Cu-

mana and Barcelona, to the Spanish general, Monteverde, the latter solemnly engaged to bury in oblivion every act militating against the Spanish government, and to allow the liberty of emigration from Venezuela. Notwithstanding, however, this treaty, Miranda was shortly afterwards arrested, and thrown into a dungeon at Puerto Cabello; he was subsequently conveyed to Puerto Rico, and from thence to the prison of La Carbaca, at Cadiz, where he died. During a truce between the Spanish army of Peru, commanded by General Goyeneche, and the independent forces of Buenos-Ayres, under the orders of General Valcarce, an attack was made by the former, whilst the latter considered themselves in security under the treaty. The patriot general, Belgrano, having in 1812 taken prisoners the royalist general, Tristan, and the division of the army of Peru which he commanded, allowed them to return

home, after they had pledged their honour not to fight against Buenos-Ayres. In the course, however, of only a few days, they violated this sacred engagement. The royalist general, Truxillo, in a despatch to the Viceroy of Mexico, Venegas, boasted of his having admitted a flag of truce from the patriot army, he being himself at the head of his troops; the bearers of the flag of truce bore also a banner of the Virgin Mary; this Truxillo requested; and having obtained, he gave orders for firing upon the envoys: "by this means," he said, "I free myself from them and their proposals." The royalist general, Calleja, entered Guanaxuato with fire and sword, and massacred fourteen thousand old men, women, and children; and yet, notwithstanding this and other similar acts of Calleja, he was appointed by the Regency of Spain to succeed the Viceroy Venegas.

Acts of the above description, more especially when they were approved of by the ruling authorities of Spain, tended of course to exasperate the Spanish Americans; to stimulate them not only to unsheath their swords, but to throw away the scabbards; and to render the contest which had commenced, one of victory or death. It is painful to humanity to contemplate the excesses by which this contest was, in the course of its progress, disgraced; nor can the Spanish American Independents be held, in this respect, altogether blameless. It may be said, however, with truth, in their behalf, that they were first instigated to acts not justifiable by the usages of civilized warfare, by the cruelties and shameless breaches of faith of the royalists.

I now return to the series of events in Spanish America. Some months after the

date of the letter from Captain Beaver to Sir Alexander Cochrane, a considerable number of the most respectable families of Caraccas presented a petition to the Captain-general Casas, for permission to elect a Junta similar to those which had been established in Spain. This request was not only refused, but the petitioners, including the Marquis del Toro, the Marquis de Casa-Leon, the Count del Tobar, Count San-Xavier, and many others, were arrested: they were, however, released, after being confined for a few days.

At Buenos-Ayres the Viceroy Liniers, towards the end of July 1808, was informed by an envoy from Napoleon Bonaparte, who arrived there in a French brig, of the events which had taken place in the Peninsula. Liniers, after consulting the Cabildo and the Audiencia, issued a proclamation, exhorting the people to remain

quiet; but which evidently shewed, that he wished to pay court to Napoleon, in the hope of maintaining himself in power. Don Xavier Elio, who was then Governor of Monte Video, and who was a personal enemy of Liniers, availed himself of the opportunity to accuse the latter of disloyalty; and succeeded in detaching Monte Video from his authority, forming a Junta there in imitation of those in Spain.

Intelligence of the general rising in Spain reached Mexico on the 29th of July 1808. Such was the enthusiasm produced by this announcement, and such the general feeling in favour of the mother-country, that on the arrival of two deputies from the Junta of Seville, to claim the sovereignty of Spanish America, it is by no means improbable that the demand would have been acceded to; had it not happened, that, during the discussion which took place at a meeting

of the civil and military officers convened by the Viceroy, despatches arrived, stating the establishment of the Junta of Asturias, and cautioning the Mexicans against acknowledging the Junta of Seville,—another instance of that absurd policy which prevailed in Spain, with reference to South America, and which tended to distract and bewilder those who were disposed to uphold the supremacy of the mother-country; it being impossible for them to distinguish, amidst such conflicting claims, what authority they were to obey, or to consider as legally established.

Such was the effect produced at Mexico; the authorities and the inhabitants being, for a few days, equally at a loss what course to take. On the 5th of August, however, a remonstrance was presented by the municipality of Mexico to the Viceroy Iturrigaray, urging the assembling of a Junta. The

Viceroy appeared to be inclined to agree to the proposed measure; but the consequence was, that a conspiracy was formed against him by some European Spaniards, who succeeded in seizing his person, and sending him a prisoner to Spain: this measure was secretly supported by the Audiencia, who then assumed the right of nominating a new Viceroy.

The provincial Juntas in Spain having agreed to send deputies to form a general government, in which the supreme authority should be vested a Central Junta, consisting of these deputies, assembled at Seville. The attachment of the Spanish Americans to the mother-country was still so great, that the authority of the Central Junta, with some exceptions, was readily acknowledged; and upwards of ninety millions of dollars were sent to Spain from South America, previously to the beginning of 1810.

To this recognition of the authority of the Central Junta, there were, as I have just stated, some exceptions. The inhabitants of La Paz, the capital of one of the districts under the dominion of the audiencia of Charcas, in the beginning of 1809, formed a government for themselves, by means of an assembly, comprising many respectable individuals, which was styled the *Junta Intuitiva*. This measure, which was not opposed by the magistrates of Chuquisaca, the capital of the audiencia of Charcas, excited the hostility of the Viceroy of Buenos-Ayres, who sent an army to destroy the new government. The Viceroy of Peru, also, sent a numerous body of troops, under the orders of General Gayeneche, against La Paz. Gayeneche, who had the command of the whole force, defeated the troops of La Paz, commanded by Generals Lanza, Castro, and Granburu, in the Alto de la Paz, and afterwards in Grupana. The last

victory was decisive; and Gayeneche, having entered La Paz, proceeded to punish the patriots, numbers of whom were, in the most shocking manner, put to death.

The inhabitants of Quito, the capital of the audience of the same name, one of the provinces of Santa Fé de Bogotá, also established a separate government, on the 10th of August 1809; appointing as president, the Marquis Selva Allegre. In consequence of this event, the Viceroy of New Grenada, Don A. Amar, convoked a Junta of the principal persons of Santa Fé de Bogotá, ostensibly for the purpose of asking their advice: this Junta, which assembled in the Viceroy's palace, on the 7th of September 1809, declared in favour of the Junta of Quito; and also that a similar body ought to be established at Bogotá. The Viceroy, however, whose only object, it appears, was to ascertain who were dis-

affected to the existing system of government, dissolved the Junta, appointing them to re-assemble on the 11th of the same month: on the latter day they again met, and delivered their opinions to the same effect. The Viceroy, who had in the mean time assembled a number of troops, then sent them, in conjunction with a force furnished by Abascal, the Viceroy of Peru, to destroy the new government of Quito. The latter being compelled to yield to superior force, the government was dissolved; but a promise was made by the Spanish president of Quito, the Conde Ruiz de Castilla, that there should be an entire oblivion with regard to the events which had taken place. This promise, however, like many others made by the Spanish authorities, was without scruple violated; and not only a great number of the patriots were arrested, but afterwards, under pretence of an alarm given by the soldiers, they were massacred

in the prison; the troops of Lima were likewise allowed to pillage the city, and upwards of three hundred individuals were murdered.

In the year 1810, intelligence reached Caraccas of the dispersion of the Central Junta in Spain, and of the establishment there of the Regency. It was then that the inhabitants, becoming convinced that there was no hope of reform or amelioration, (the captain-general Emparan requiring a blind submission to the orders of whatever government was set up in Spain,) determined to endeavour to obtain, by force of arms, what was denied to their petitions. In this attempt they were at first successful; the Spanish governing authorities were deposed, and the municipality, in conjunction with several individuals elected by the people, assumed the reins of government, taking the title of *Junta Suprema:* their acts, how-

ever, were published in the name of Ferdinand VIIth; and without acknowledging the authority of the Regency in Spain, they tendered every possible aid for the continuance of the war against the French, in which the Spanish nation was involved.

At Buenos-Ayres, the Viceroy Cisneros, and the Cabildo, came to an agreement; and in consequence, on the 25th of May 1810, a Junta was tranquilly established.

At Bogotá, a private quarrel gave rise to a contest between the Creoles and the Spaniards; and the former being victorious, a Junta was assembled on the 20th of July.

In Chili, the Captain-general Carrasco whose arbitrary measures had given great offence, was compelled to resign his office, and a Junta was formed there on the 18th of September.

In Mexico, the arrest of the Viceroy Iturrigaray, on the 15th of September 1808, by a party of Europeans, excited a strong feeling of discontent amongst the Spanish Americans; and several of the latter being put to death, and others detained in custody, upon alleged charges of disaffection to the government; whilst the arrival of the new Viceroy Venegas announced the bestowing rewards and honours upon those who had instigated, or participated in, the forcible removal of Iturrigaray, an insurrection, in consequence, commenced on the 16th of September 1810, at the town of Dolores, near Guanaxuato, which, in a short time, extended through the greater part of the Viceroyalty.

The Regency of Spain, true to that absurd policy which actuated all the Spanish authorities, and which was so much the more absurd under the then circumstances of Spain, on receiving intelligence of the events

in Caraccas, declared that province, on the 31st of August 1818, with the exception of the province of Maracaybo and the department of Coro, which had not taken part in the transactions, in a state of blockade. The only effect of this foolish decree was, as might have been expected, to excite a determined spirit of hostility amongst the Spanish Americans, against the mother-country. They were willing to assist the Spanish nation in its contest with France; but confused and perplexed, as they had been, by the claims of different authorities successively rising up in Spain, they declined to acknowledge the supremacy of the Regency. Nothing, however, would satisfy the latter but unconditional submission on the part of the South Americans; and thus, for the sake of a useless bauble, they threw away all the advantages to be derived from the assistance of the colonies.

The Cortes, which succeeded the Regency, inherited the sentiments of that body, with regard to South America; and manifested a determination to keep the Spanish Americans in a state of subjection, the impolicy of which was rendered the more glaringly ridiculous by its impotence.

Had the different provinces of Spanish America at that time acted in concert, there is little doubt that their independence would have been speedily achieved. This however, with reference to any combined movement, has, from the operation of a variety of causes, never been the case; but the progress made, under such circumstances, by the Spanish Americans, in their contest for independence, and their final success, decidedly prove how generally, and to how great an extent, the tyrannical and impolitic measures of the successive

authorities ruling in Spain had contributed to alienate the minds of the former from the mother-country.

Nor, indeed, is this to be wondered at, when it is recollected that not only was every endeavour made by the Spanish authorities at home, through the agency of the missions of Don N. Cortivarria to Puerto Rico, of Don N. Elio to Monte Video, of Don Benito Perez to Panama, and of Don N. Venegas to Mexico, by means of promises and threats, of religious prejudices, and private animosities, to excite a civil war; but that troops were actually sent to Monte Video, to Vera Cruz, to Coro, Panama, and Santa Martha, although, at the time, all the soldiers that could be raised were wanted for the defence of the mother-country.

Such conduct on the part of the ruling authorities in Spain, of course, engendered

an animosity amongst the Spanish Americans, not inferior to that manifested at home; and it was under such circumstances, and under the influence of feelings of this description, that the war in South America commenced. The manner in which the contest was carried on, too, clearly and most lamentably proves the exacerbation of the minds of those by whom it was conducted. There can be no doubt, however, as already stated, that the chiefs and leaders employed by, or acting in the name of, the Government of Spain, gave the first examples of violating capitulations, and of massacring prisoners; acts which, as a natural consequence, increased and inflamed the hatred and animosity of the South Americans, and added fuel to that flame which was already consuming the last remnant of the edifice of supremacy, so long kept up by the mother-country.

The Spaniards frequently, in the course of the contest, derived great advantages from their ancient influence, which was still, in some quarters, considerable; and from their military skill, in which they were superior to the Spanish Americans. But their cruelty, both in the hour of triumph and in that of defeat, destroyed the former; and the latter was rendered by it utterly unavailing, counterbalanced, as was their greater military skill, by the superior numbers of the Spanish Americans, and actuated, as the latter were, by that determined spirit of independence, which was continually receiving accessions of strength from the acts of treachery and barbarity committed by the Spaniards.

The Spanish Americans, courageous in attack, had also, generally, great confidence in their leaders. It is, however, unfortu-

nately too true, that they were sometimes uselessly sacrificed, in consequence of disputes between their chiefs; some of whom, as is, and perhaps must be, the case in all civil wars, endeavoured to render the public cause subservient to their own private interests, or views of ambition. But these circumstances, though they tended to sully the cause of independence, and to retard its success, were not sufficient to prevent its ultimate triumph. Frequently, indeed, the disputes arising between some of the independent chiefs, or between provinces or districts entertaining different views, were at once postponed, and the parties at variance acted cordially together upon the approach of the common enemy. Nor were the Spanish authorities, at any time after the commencement of the war in South America, in a situation to turn these disputes, in any material degree, to their

advantage; the acts of treachery and cruelty which they either committed, authorized, or sanctioned, being alike detested by all parties amongst the Independents. In fact, after the spirit of independence had thus taken deep root, and spread itself through the whole of Spanish America, the efforts of Spain to re-conquer the country, although they might be, and were, partially successful, were altogether vain and useless. Her only chance of again acquiring a supremacy, was by means of conciliation; and this resource the Spanish authorities considered beneath them to avail themselves of: they relied upon the sword, and upon terror; and their want of humanity and of good faith recoiled upon themselves. Unhappily, however, many thousand lives were sacrificed, in consequence of their obstinate perseverance in a hopeless contest.

I have already mentioned the establishment of a Junta of Government at Caraccas: the decree of blockade issued in consequence by the Regency of Spain, had only the effect of ripening into actual independence what was previously merely a sort of provisional, or intermediate state of political existence. Thus on the 5th of July 1811, the act of independence was published of the united confederation of Venezuela, consisting of the provinces of Caraccas, Cumana, Barinas, Margarita, Barcelona, Merida, and Truxillo; and agreed upon by the Congress composed of the representatives of these provinces. In this act the conduct of the recent successive governments of Spain, to which I have already alluded, was justly stigmatized; and their determination, in consequence, no longer to preserve the bonds which had hitherto united them to Spain, and to be-

come free and independent, was boldly and firmly asserted.

Declarations of a similar purport were issued in Mexico, also in Carthagena, Socorro, Tunja, Pamplona, Antioquia, and the other provinces composing the confederation of New Grenada, and subsequently by the congress of Buenos-Ayres.

A short time previously to these events, in January 1811, a discussion took place in the Cortes of Spain respecting the claims of the Spanish Americans; but even at this period, when conciliation might still, perhaps, have produced an effect favourable to Spanish supremacy in South America; when, at any rate, it was the only chance that was left,—the majority of the Cortes, adhering closely to the old, stubborn, and vicious policy of their predecessors, after the consideration of the propositions con-

taining the claims of the Spanish Americans, had lingered on till February, and either rejected them, or, what was the same thing in effect, postponed the further investigation of them to an indefinite period.

In April 1811, the English Government, whose policy then was, having become in effect the ally of the Spanish nation, to preserve, if possible, the integrity of the dominions of Spain, offered their mediation, for the purpose of endeavouring to adjust the differences between the mother-country and the provinces of Spanish America. This offer was taken into consideration by the Cortes on the 6th of June. The debate upon it lasted for several days, with closed doors: it was at length rejected; only six Europeans, in addition to the Spanish American deputies, voting in its favour. It is, perhaps, fortunate for this country, however impolitic might have been, at

that time, the conduct of the majority of the Cortes, that the rejection took place: had it been accepted, and acted upon, questions must unavoidably have arisen in the course of the discussions, which would have greatly embarrassed the British government, and perhaps have fettered its subsequent policy with reference to South America. The spirit which influenced the majority of the Cortes was soon afterwards again manifested, by the rejection, on the 13th of August 1811, of a proposition for opening a trade between Great Britain and Spanish America. This system of policy continued to be acted upon by the Cortes up to the latest moment of their power.

It now becomes necessary to notice some of the leading events which in the mean time took place in Spanish America.

CHAPTER VII.

CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY.

BOLIVAR'S CAREER—EVENTS OF THE REVOLUTION.

PREVIOUSLY to the declarations of independence made by the confederation of Venezuela, considerable differences of opinion prevailed amongst the leading men there, as to the forms of constitution which it would be most advisable to adopt. General Miranda, who landed there about the end of 1810, had a plan of constitution which differed materially from the federal one adopted by the Congress; and there was a considerable party in the Congress itself,

who were desirous of being again united to the mother-country. General Bolivar, also, who was destined to become the great and successful champion of the freedom of his country, disapproved of the system acted upon by the Congress, and declined any direct connexion with it. This clashing of opinions amongst the patriot leaders, was not very favourable to the stability of the new government. A few days after the publication of the act of independence, on the 11th of July 1811, a conspiracy was discovered and suppressed at Caraccas. On the day preceding, however, the royalists succeeded in obtaining possession of Valencia thirty-eight leagues from Caraccas, and were joined by the inhabitants, who were discontented with the Congress for opposing their desire to separate themselves from Caraccas, and form a separate province. Troops were immediately embodied by the government of Caraccas, and sent against

Valencia, under the command of the Marques del Toro, who was soon afterwards superseded by General Miranda. The latter general stormed the town; but in consequence of the resistance he met with, he was compelled to retire four leagues, to Mariana, on the road to Caraccas; and it was not till the following month that he was enabled to obtain possession of Valencia.

The next measure of material importance regarded the formation of a constitution for securing the freedom of Venezuela. There was a numerous party in favour of a federal one, which opinion had been strenuously supported and disseminated by means of a series of essays, inserted during several successive months in the Caraccas Gazette, and written by a native of Ireland, of the name of Burke. A correspondence, with a view to the same object, had also been carried on by Don F. X. Ustariz, who had

formed the plan of the intended constitution, and Don T. Roscio, with several individuals at Bogotá, and in the interior of Venezuela. There were, however, many who were opposed to the project of federalism; and it was only after several months of debate, on the 23d of December 1811, that the proposed constitution was agreed to by the Congress. As this constitution, however, was very soon, by subsequent events, rendered completely unavailing, its provisions are now of very little importance. It was agreed that the Congress should hold its sessions at Valencia in the beginning of March 1812.

There was at that period every appearance of prosperity in Venezuela; a reduction of four per cent. was made in the custom-house duties in favour of English manufactures, and commerce was in some

measure flourishing. A military force of three thousand men, under the command of General Moreno, was stationed on the banks of the Orinoco, ready to cross that river in order to attack the royalists in the city of Angostura; and Colonel Xalon, with one battalion, was placed at Barquisimeto, to guard against any attack on that side by the royalists of Coro.

Unhappily, on the 26th of March 1812, between four and five P. M., Venezuela was visited by a tremendous earthquake, which almost destroyed the city of Caraccas, the towns of La Guayra, Mayquetia, and San Felipe; and greatly damaged those of Valencia, La Vittoria, Barquisimeto, and others; causing also the death of nearly twenty thousand individuals. But the moral effect produced by this awful convulsion of nature was still greater than its

physical evils. The clergy, who, by the new constitution, had been deprived of some of their privileges, immediately proclaimed that the earthquake was an evidence of the wrath of the Almighty; and they unfortunately found a great number of terrified individuals, who were too ready to believe them.

Other circumstances combined, also, to cause a considerable depression in the minds of the independents; the royalists of Coro, having attacked the force under Colonel Xalon, gained a considerable advantage, and obtained possession of Carora. The day before the earthquake, the troops stationed at Barquisimeto were preparing to march, in order to attack the royalists, at the moment the earthquake took place; when the barracks being thrown down, the greater part of the soldiers were buried under the ruins, and their commander severely wounded.

The congress, likewise, had been obliged to issue one million in paper money, which, after the earthquake, became much discredited; unable to withstand the tide of public opinion, which was now flowing strongly against them, that assembly adjourned their sessions, after giving the command of the army to General Miranda, attaching to it, at the same time, a sort of dictatorial power. Miranda, at the head of two thousand men, marched to meet the royalists, commanded by General Monteverde, who proceeded from Carora to Barquisimeto, of which he took possession without any opposition; as he did, soon afterwards, of Araure, after a slight resistance. The intelligence of these successes dispirited the independent troops who had been sent against Angostura; and Miranda, after evacuating Valencia, found it necessary to concentrate his forces in the pass of La Cabrera, near the Lake Tacarigua.

It was the intention of General Miranda, by the occupation of this pass, to prevent the enemy from invading Caraccas on the western side; but the inhabitants of that province having, under the influence of the superstitious terror already alluded to, declared for the royalists, they discovered to Monteverde a footpath, hitherto unknown to him, by means of which, though with some difficulty, himself and his troops were enabled to avoid the defile of La Cabrera. The consequence was, that Miranda retreated to La Vittoria, sixteen leagues from Caraccas, between the banks of the river Aragua and the valley watered by the river Tuy. The royalists attacked the rear of the independent army at the end of June, but were repulsed with considerable loss. Miranda was endeavouring to restore order at Caraccas, and discipline in the army, which his judicious conduct might have effected, when the Spaniards who were

prisoners at Puerto Cabello, by means of the treachery of the officer on guard, obtained possession of the fort. General (then Colonel) Simon Bolivar, who commanded in the town, considering it impossible to attempt to storm the fort, without risking the destruction of the town, embarked with his officers for La Guayra.

The possession of Puerto Cabello was of much consequence to the royalists, as besides obtaining there a considerable quantity of ammunition, of which they were much in want, they were enabled to open a communication by sea with Coro and Puerto Rico, from whence their army received supplies in a much shorter time than by land.

Miranda, who was unable in the slightest degree to rely upon the people of Caraccas,

their terror being still kept up by a succession of earthquakes, which, however, effected no material mischief, was placed in a situation of the greatest difficulty. His only resource, at length, appeared to be to propose a capitulation, which, with the consent of the executive power, he did; and the terms agreed upon between Monteverde, and Don T. Sata-y-busy, and others appointed by Miranda, were: That the constitution offered by the Cortes to the Spanish nation was to be established in Caraccas; that no one was to suffer for former opinions; that all private property was to be held sacred; and that emigration was to be permitted to those who wished to quit Venezuela.

This capitulation was, as already stated, shamelessly violated by the royalists, after they had taken possession of Caraccas, and the republican army had been disbanded.

General Miranda, who had, with many others, proceeded to La Guayra, with the intention of embarking there for Carthagena, was arrested; and nearly one thousand patriots were thrown into dungeons at La Guayra and Puerto Cabello. Miranda, as before mentioned, was sent to Cadiz, where he died. Don J. Cortes Madariaga, P. J. Roscio, J. Ayala, and J. Castillo, South Americans; Ysnardi, Ruiz, Mires, and Barrosa, Spaniards in the service of the Republic, were also sent to Cadiz, and condemned by the Cortes to imprisonment, without any limitation of time, at Ceuta. The South Americans escaped from thence in 1814 to Gibraltar; but the governor of that fortress delivered them up to the Spaniards; and it was not till the middle of 1816, that, through the intervention of the English Government, they obtained their release. The four Spaniards remained for years at Ceuta.

Cumana and Barcelona, in consequence of this capitulation, acknowledged the authority of Monteverde. The patriot expedition against Angostura completely failed; whilst, about the same time, the royalists of Maracaybo invaded and took possession of the departments of Merida and Truxillo, after several times defeating, in the valley of Cucuta, the patriot forces commanded by Don J. A. Paredes.

The authority of the Spanish Government was thus completely restored in Venezuela, but disgraced and dishonoured by the most shameless breaches of faith. Still, however, a propitious moment had occurred; and had the Spanish authorities known how, or chosen to take advantage of it, they might have secured the offspring of newborn liberty, sprung from Spanish American revolution, and strangled it in its birth. But conciliation had no place in the Spanish

vocabulary; nothing was dreamed of but to inspire terror, and to inflict vengeance; as if common sense would not have taught them that terror would recoil upon itself, and that vengeance would beget vengeance. The horrible idea was conceived of exterminating the inhabitants of Venezuela, in order to terrify the population of the rest of Spanish America; every gaol was filled with patriots, and when no more room was to be found for incarcerating the victims of Spanish tyranny, many other buildings were converted into prisons expressly for that purpose.

These measures, the dictates of tyranny and vengeance, might however have been disavowed by the government at home, who might thus have set itself right in the eyes of the Spanish Americans, and have then pursued a course of mildness and conciliation. But, no: miserable in-

fatuation was at a higher temperature in Spain than it was in America; for not only did the Regency of Spain approve of the measures adopted by Monteverde, but it thought they did not go far enough; and Don Juan O'Donoju, Minister of War, in his report to the Cortes on the situation of the Spanish Colonies, made the 2d of October 1813, actually complained "of the indulgence that had been shewn to the insurgents at Caraccas!"

Thus the opportunity afforded by the operations or convulsions of nature was completely thrown away; the barbarity of the Spaniards counteracted the effect of the exhortations and influence of the clergy; the spirit of the patriots revived with a tenfold exasperation of rage; and wherever circumstances were in the least favourable, they flew to arms, to repel that inhuman oppression which left them no

hope, except what was founded in resistance.

The first effort was made in the province of Cumana, where Don N. Marmo, at the head of a body of patriots, captured the town of Maturin: he was attacked there by the Spaniards, who were repulsed; a second attack was made in the beginning of April 1813, by Monteverde, who commanded in person, but was completely defeated.

General Bolivar, in the mean time, had obtained from the Congress of New Grenada the command of a body of troops, with whom he crossed the Andes, on the side of the provinces of Tunja and Pamplona, and approached the river Tachira, the boundary of New Grenada. Having surprised and dispersed the royalists at Cucuta, Colonel Nicolas Briceno was sent

from thence with some officers, by Bolivar, to Guadualito, where he raised some cavalry, and invaded the province of Barinas; whilst Bolivar took possession of the department of Merida, after having defeated the royalists at La Grita. Briceno, however, having been completely defeated by the Spaniards, and himself and seven of his officers taken prisoners, he was soon afterwards executed by the order of Tiscar, the Governor of Barinas; and eight of the most respectable persons in the town, charged with facilitating his enterprise, were shot. It was upon this occasion that Bolivar, exasperated by the unworthy fate of his companion in arms, declared that every Spanish prisoner of war, who should thereafter fall into his power, should be given up to the resentment of the patriots. This threat, however, extorted from him, as it were, by the cruelty of the royalists, was only realized afterwards in one instance.

Bolivar, whose army had considerably increased, now divided it into two corps, placing one of them under the orders of Colonel Rivas, his second in command. With the corps under his own immediate orders, he marched towards the province of Caraccas, through the department of Truxillo, and the province of Barinas; Colonel Rivas also taking the same direction. The royalists were successively defeated at Niquitao, Belijoque, Carache, Barquisimeto, and Barinas, and finally at Lostaguanes, where Monteverde had assembled his best troops; here the battle was decided against him, in consequence of his cavalry passing over to the Independents. Monteverde, unable any longer to make head in the field, shut himself up with the remnant of his troops in Puerto Cabello.

Bolivar now advanced rapidly upon Caraccas, where the inhabitants were impa-

tiently expecting him as their deliverer from the odious tyranny of the royalists. Fierro, who had been appointed by Monteverde governor of the city, being unable to make any effective defence, convoked a Junta, consisting of the audiencia, the clergy, and the officers of the garrison; and they agreed to send commissioners to Bolivar with proposals for a capitulation. Bolivar, who was then at La Vittoria, accepted the proffered terms; promising that no person should be molested on account of his previous opinions, and that all those individuals who chose it, should be allowed to quit Venezuela, taking with them their property. The Governor, however, did not wait for the ratification of the treaty, but embarked at La Guayra, carrying off with him all the money, whether public property, or belonging to private persons, which he could lay his hands upon; and

leaving nearly fifteen hundred Spaniards, who had no possibility of emigrating, at the mercy of the conqueror. The articles of the treaty were sent to Monteverde, at Puerto Cabello, who, true to his system, refused to agree to them, "because it was derogatory to the dignity of the Spanish nation to treat with insurgents."

General Bolivar made his public entry into the city of Caraccas, on the 4th of August 1813, and was received with the most enthusiastic joy by the inhabitants; the dungeons were thrown open, and the survivors of those who had been consigned to them, again embraced their friends and relations: whilst, in the midst of all this high excitement, to the great honour of the patriots be it recorded, no insult whatever was directed against any of the royalists who had been left in the city.

Marino having followed up his success at Maturin by obtaining several victories in the eastern provinces, the whole of Venezuela was thus again in the possession of the patriots, with the exception of the town and fort of Puerto Cabello, which were held by Monteverde. Actuated by considerations of humanity, Bolivar sent a flag of truce to Monteverde, proposing an exchange of prisoners; although the captive royalists were more numerous than the patriots who had been taken by Monteverde. The latter, however, obstinately persisted in refusing to treat with Bolivar; and having received a reinforcement from Spain, of about one thousand two hundred troops, he attacked the patriots at Aguacaliente. In this action he was completely defeated; a great number of the Spaniards were killed or taken prisoners; and Monteverde himself was severely wounded, and in that state conveyed back to Puerto Ca-

bello, where the remnant of the Spanish troops also took refuge.

To Salomon, who had taken the command of the royalist troops, in consequence of Monteverde being disabled by his wounds, Bolivar made a similar proposal for an exchange of prisoners. Salomon, however, determined to outdo his predecessor in inhumanity and barbarity, seized the bearer of the flag of truce, a priest, named Salvador Garcia, and loading him with fetters, imprisoned him in the fortress of Puerto Cabello. Salomon was succeeded by Istueta, who, proceeding still further in the career of atrocity, in order to prevent the besiegers from firing upon his line, placed the patriot prisoners so as to be exposed to the discharges from their batteries; at night these unfortunate men were thrown into pontoons, where, at one time, nearly fifty died from suffocation. The patriot

forces, by way of retaliation, placed the royalist prisoners in front of their line. This horrid emulation in barbarity was again kept up by the royalists' conducting four of their prisoners, namely, Pellin, Osorio, Pointet, and Manuel Pulido, in front of the patriot encampment, in order to put them to death, by shooting them.

The siege, however, of Puerto Cabello was continued both by sea and land, by Bolivar, who confided the command of the besiegers to D'Eluyar. The patriots soon obtained possession of the greater part of the town, but the fort or citadel still held out; and though the garrison were in want of provisions, and the soldiers very sickly, the royalist officers refused all terms of capitulation. Bolivar, deterred from attempting to storm it, by the immense loss of men which must have been the result, contented himself with merely investing the fortress.

About this period, the royalists of Coro, having been reinforced by some troops from Puerto Rico, sallied out of the town, under the command of Ceballos, and penetrating into the territory of Caraccas, defeated, on the 10th of November, a body of patriots at Barquisimeto. Bolivar, in consequence, again took the field, and routed the royalists at Vigirima, and Barbula. In the last mentioned battle, the patriots lost Girardot, a young warrior who had frequently distinguished himself by his valour; and to commemorate whom, an annual mourning was ordered by Bolivar, and a pension was assigned to his family for ever. This action was followed by the battle of Araure, on the 5th of December, in which the patriots were again victorious. It was in this battle that a patriot battalion, who had been deprived of their arms, by order of Bolivar, in consequence of their having manifested some cowardice in the engagement at Bar-

quisimeto, retrieved their character by their valour and good conduct, in taking musquets from the enemy, themselves being armed only with pikes, and thus they had their arms restored to them.

The attention of Bolivar was now called to other circumstances: when he received his command from the congress of New Grenada, he was ordered to reinstate in their authority the congress of Venezuela. This, however, he had not thought it expedient to do; and the latter country, from the period of his taking possession of Caraccas, had been entirely under the sway of a military government. Bolivar, it is true, never abused the authority with which he was thus invested; but the same praise cannot, unfortunately, be given to his subordinate officers, some of whom, in the wantonness of power, committed excesses which excited considerable discontent.

Bolivar, who was thus, by the conduct of others, placed in a dilemma, determined on convening an assembly, consisting of the magistrates, the ecclesiastical dignitaries, the municipality, the colleges, the board of trade, and the proprietors of land—who met on the 2d of January 1814. Bolivar attended the meeting; and after rendering an account of his conduct, he concluded by resigning the supreme authority which he held. This step at once restored to him all the popularity which he had previously enjoyed, and which had only been diminished in consequence of the abuses that had been too often manifested, in the exercise of the delegated power which he had intrusted to others.

It was obviously necessary, in the then crisis of affairs, that the supreme authority should, without delay, be vested somewhere; and as there was no individual

to whom it could be so properly confided as Bolivar, the Governor of Caraccas, Don C. Hurtado de Mendoza, one of the firmest supporters of the cause of independence, proposed, that the supreme command of Venezuela should be left in the hands of that general, until the Spaniards, who were acting against the province, should be completely subdued. This proposition, which was supported by Don T. A. Rodriguez, the president of the municipality, and by Don D. Alzuru, was at once agreed to; and the *Libertador de Venezuela*, as Bolivar was then styled, was invested with dictatorial power, till a union should take place between the provinces of Venezuela, and those of New Grenada, under the same representative constitution.

The Spaniards, disappointed and defeated in their attempts to subjugate Venezuela, after exhausting all the resources of cruelty,

seemed now determined to attain the climax of atrocity. They raised the slaves in rebellion against their masters, and placed them under the command of individuals who were believed to be not in the least scrupulous as to the means they employed; such were Boves, Yanez, Rosette, Puy, and Palomo; the first four were Spaniards, and the last a negro, who had long been outlawed as a robber and an assassin. Boves and Rosette received supplies of arms and ammunition from the royalist governor of Angostura, and were enabled to carry their detestable plan into effect in the eastern part of the province of Caraccas. Puy and Palomo received assistance from the royalist chiefs of Coro, Puerto Cabello, and Maracaybo, and fixed upon the western portion of the province of Caraccas, Barinas, Merida, and Truxillo, as their sanguinary theatre of action. These men regularly corresponded with the royalist chiefs of the

above-mentioned places; and some of the letters having fallen into the hands of Bolivar, the whole plan was thus developed.

It may easily be imagined, that out of the slaves in Venezuela, amounting to seventy thousand, and a numerous host of vagabonds, there would be little difficulty in selecting a force, formidable not only from its numbers, but still more from its sanguinary cruelty. Bolivar was unable to prevent the execution of this execrable project; but he lost no time in adopting every measure that promised a chance of mitigating the evils of such a scourge.

Puy and Palomo having obtained possession of Barinas, Guanare, and some other towns, a division of Bolivar's army was marched in that direction. Puy retired to Barinas, where he ordered five hundred and seventy-four individuals to be arrested, of

whom five hundred were shot, without any form of trial. An alarm being given of the approach of the patriot troops, Puy asked if there was not time to execute the remaining seventy-four prisoners; and being answered in the negative, they were thus saved. This anecdote may serve to give an idea of the diabolical and deliberate ferocity with which these detestable agents of the royalists executed their sanguinary mission. Some time afterwards, when the patriots were compelled to evacuate Barinas, Puy again entered the town, and made a general massacre of its inhabitants.

Boves and Rosette marched from the Orinoco to the valleys of Tuy and Aragua; and through an extent of country of four hundred miles they slaughtered, indiscriminately, every individual who refused to join them. They thus contrived to collect a force of eight thousand men, of whom

only fifty were Europeans, or Canarians, and a few men of colour; the rest were all slaves. Boves took possession of La Vittoria, and Rosette of Ocumare; the first town fourteen leagues, and the second only ten, from Caraccas; whilst Yanez and Puy, in the beginning of February 1814, advanced from Barinas to join them. At Ocumare many of the inhabitants were massacred, three of whom were even murdered in the church. Bolivar, indignant at these atrocities, and beset with the most serious difficulties, gave orders for putting to death the royalist prisoners at Caraccas and La Guayra, amounting to nearly fourteen hundred, of whom eight hundred were actually killed. The consequence of this was a dreadful retaliation on the part of the royalists, by whom all the patriot prisoners at Puerto Cabello, amounting to several hundreds, were massacred.

Bolivar, whose troops were now numerically inferior to those of his opponents, again took the field, and obtained a signal victory over Boves at La Vittoria; Colonel Rivas defeated Rosette on the banks of the Tuy; and Yanez was defeated and killed at Ospinos. But these victories, owing to the disproportion of numbers, were dearly purchased, it being computed that one-third of the patriot troops fell in the three engagements.

Boves and Rosette having rallied their troops, and received some reinforcements, again marched towards Caraccas. Generals Marino and Montilla, however, repulsed the royalists at Bocachica; and General Bolivar gained a similar advantage at San Mateo. Through these successes, the siege of Valencia, which had been carried on by the royalist commanders, Cevallos and Calzados, was raised.

It was at San Mateo that an act of the most devoted and heroic courage was performed by a patriot officer, a youth named Ricaute, of one of the most distinguished families at Bogotá. He was appointed to guard a powder-magazine at San Mateo, when that place was attacked by the royalists on the 25th of March 1814: the latter sent a strong detachment of troops to attack the magazine, expecting to take it by surprise whilst the armies were fighting at some distance. Ricaute, perceiving the impossibility of making any effectual resistance, ordered his soldiers to join the army, remaining himself alone to defend the magazine: the royalists took possession of the building, and having discovered Ricaute, were on the point of seizing him, when the latter igniting the powder, an instantaneous explosion took place, and himself and the royalist soldiers were all buried beneath the ruins.

Boves, after his last defeat, retreated to Los Llanos, and Cevallos to San Carlos: General Marino pursued the latter, but having been repulsed on the 16th of April, he, in his turn, retired to Valencia. Cagigal, who had been appointed Captain-general of Venezuela, in the room of Monteverde, brought reinforcements from Coro; and having united under his orders the troops commanded by Cevallos, Calzados, and others, he advanced towards Valencia. The two armies came to action in the plains of Carabobo, on the 28th of May 1814: the result was, that the royalists were completely defeated and dispersed, leaving on the field of battle a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition, and five hundred men killed, wounded, or prisoners.

Soon after this victory, Bolivar, too confident of security, unfortunately committed

an error, which has not unfrequently been fatal to the hopes of even the greatest captains. He divided his forces, sending Urdineta against Coro, and Marino to San Fernando, on the Apure, whilst only a third part of his army remained under his own immediate command. He thus counterbalanced the error of the royalist general Cagigal, who had persisted in coming to action at Carabobo, without waiting for a numerous body of cavalry under Boves, the junction of which would have given him a greater chance of success.

The three divisions of the patriot army were, in the course of a few days, separated at the distance of many leagues from each other, when Bolivar was attacked by Boves at La Puerta, a plain about fifty leagues from Caraccas, near the town of Cura. After a hard-fought contest, which lasted for several hours, Bolivar was reluctantly com-

pelled to abandon the field to his opponent. This reverse was accompanied by other misfortunes: Cagigal and Calzados, having rallied some of their dispersed troops, attacked the division of Marino, who was compelled to retreat to Cumana; and Urdineta, in consequence of these disasters, found himself under the necessity of withdrawing his troops to Cucuta, on the frontiers of Santa Fé.

Bolivar, whose military government was very little relished by the people, became again for a time unpopular: the inhabitants of Los Llanos declared openly for the royalist cause, in consequence of several of their countrymen, who had been taken prisoners in a previous engagement, having been put to death by one of his generals, Don J. Campo-Elias. The siege of Puerto Cabello was unavoidably raised, and the troops employed in it were embarked for

Cumana, whither Bolivar marched by land, with the remnant of his army, and with nearly the whole population of Caraccas, who, being now unprotected, were threatened with destruction.

Boves took possession of Caraccas and La Guayra in the month of July 1814. Valencia, after holding out for some time, capitulated; when, as has been already mentioned, the patriot officers and great part of the soldiers of the garrison were shot, with the most wanton and shameless violation of good faith.

Bolivar was again defeated by Boves at Araguita. He then, considering the cause of independence to be for the present lost, embarked with some of his officers for Carthagena. Rivas and Bermudes made a stand for some time at Maturin, where they repulsed, with great slaughter, both

Morales and Boves; but they were at last defeated by a superior royalist force at Urica, on the 5th of December 1814, in which engagement Boves was slain. Rivas was taken prisoner and shot, and his head was sent to Caraccas, where it was publicly exhibited. Bermudes embarked with some troops for the island of La Margarita.

In the mean time the Spanish government, averting itself from every idea of conciliation, and determined, if possible, to rivet its yoke by force upon the colonies, fitted out an expedition at Cadiz, consisting of ten thousand men, under the command of General Morillo, which sailed in fifty transports, convoyed by two frigates. One of the frigates was lost at Margarita, the rest of the vessels arrived safe; and having left about two thousand men to garrison the towns on the coast of Vene-

zuela, and joined to the remainder of the expedition some of the royalist troops in Caraccas, Morillo quitted Puerto Cabello, in the month of July 1815, for the purpose of besieging Carthagena.

Bolivar, who, as has already been stated, embarked for Carthagena after the battle of Araguita, proceeded from thence to Tunja, where the Congress of New Grenada was sitting; from which body he received directions to compel the city of Bogotá, by force, to acknowledge its authority. Having succeeded in this object, he was sent with three thousand men upon a similar mission to the province of Santa Martha, and for the purposes of which Carthagena was to contribute troops and musquets. Bolivar having reached the town of Monpox, on the river Magdalena, sent to inform the government of Carthagena of the demands of the Congress Through the influence, how-

ever, of Don M. Castillo, the military governor of Carthagena, who, as it is said in some accounts, was a personal enemy of Bolivar, pretexts were found to evade the orders of the Congress, and thus the attack upon Santa Martha was delayed. Bolivar, in consequence, marched against Carthagena, for the purpose of compelling the government to obey the orders of the Congress; and this produced a civil war between the two parties in the city. The royalists in Santa Martha, profiting by the opportunity, and with the view of opposing Bolivar, took possession of Monpox, and of other places, which had been left in a defenceless state.

It was at this juncture that intelligence reached Carthagena of the arrival of the expedition under Morillo. Bolivar, in consequence, that he might not be the cause of disuniting the patriots in the face of the

enemy, quitted the army, and proceeded to Jamaica, whilst his troops formed a junction with those in Carthagena, for the purpose of defending the city.

It was not, however, with any feeling of estrangement from the cause of independence, that Bolivar went to Jamaica; for, whilst there, he planned an expedition for the express purpose of rendering assistance to Carthagena; and with this view he embarked for Aux Cayes: but the execution of his plan was prevented by the surrender of Carthagena, (the garrison having evacuated the city,) which took place on the 6th of December, after a siege of nearly four months.

In the mean time, the tyranny and cruelty of the Spanish authorities, only intermitted when they were driven from the country, and again renewed, with a still

more intolerable oppression, and a still greater barbarity, when the chance of war again placed the power in their hands, had produced the effect which might have been anticipated. The people of Venezuela, whatever might have been their differences of opinion, became united in support of the cause of independence. The native troops, also, who had enlisted under the banners of the Spaniards, found themselves treated by the latter with so much *hauteur* and contempt, that many of them seceded; and joining others, who had been dispersed or disbanded after the battle of Urica, they formed Guerilla corps, under the command of Monagas, Piar, Roxas, Saraza, Llanos, and others; which, occupying the inland parts of the provinces of Angostura, Cumana, Barcelona, Caraccas, and Barinas, continually harassed the Spanish troops, and often defeated the detachments which were sent against them.

At this period, Arismendi raised the patriot standard in the island of La Margarita; and having several times defeated the Spanish garrison, he, at the same time that Carthagena surrendered to Morillo, took possession of a part of the island. For the purpose of aiding this force, Bolivar lost no time in planning an expedition; associating himself with Brion, a native of Curaçoa, who had served in the Venezuelan flotilla, and who had been admitted to the privileges of a citizen of Carthagena, for his services in that province. Brion, being a man of property, defrayed the expenses of the expedition, and was appointed to the command of the naval force. Bolivar having assembled the emigrants from Venezuela, and a part of the garrison which had evacuated Carthagena, they were embarked on board thirteen transports, which, with two ships of war, sailed from Aux Cayes the end of March 1816.

This force, in the beginning of May, landed at the island of Margarita; having previously captured two Spanish ships of war, after a hard-fought action. The Spaniards, in consequence, abandoned the whole of the island, with the exception of the fortress of Pampatar, in which they retained a garrison. Bolivar did not remain long at Margarita, but sailed for, and obtained possession of Carupano, about five leagues west of the town of Cumana; and after arming several corps of Guerillas, who had advanced to join him, his expedition again sailed for Ocumare. He, however, divided his force, landing the vanguard at Choroni, and proceeding himself to Ocumare, where he disembarked the remainder.

Through a similar error, that of dividing his force, Bolivar had not long before sustained a signal defeat; and upon this occa-

sion he was also unfortunate. Sir Gregor M'Gregor, subsequently well known, who commanded the vanguard, took Maracay and La Cabrera, and marched against La Vittoria. Morales, who had been sent with troops, by Morillo, to Venezuela, taking advantage of the separation, attacked the division commanded by Bolivar; who after a severe action, and losing two hundred men and some of his best officers, was compelled to re-embark. M'Gregor, in consequence, altered the intended destination of his force, and marched along the plains towards Barcelona: he was pursued by Morales, but succeeded in repulsing the latter in the action of Alacran; and completely defeated him at the battle of Tuncal. He thus obtained possession of Barcelona early in October, and was enabled to open a communication with the patriot generals, in the provinces of Cumana and Angostura.

On the 2d of November, the Spaniards evacuated Pampatar. The island of Margarita being thus in complete possession of the patriots, General Arismendi sailed, to form a junction with the force in Barcelona. Bolivar also, who, after his defeat at Ocumare, had returned to Aux Cayes, sailed from thence with fresh reinforcements for Margarita, where he landed in December 1816, and issued a proclamation for convoking the general congress of Venezuela; he then went to Barcelona, where he organized a provincial government.

At Barcelona, in February and March 1817, Bolivar was attacked by the royalist generals Real and Morales, whom, however, he succeeded in repulsing with great loss. Morillo himself, who had advanced with four thousand men, was also driven back; and on his retreat was defeated by the patriot general Paez, in a battle fought near

San Fernando de Apure. Piar likewise defeated the royalist troops near Angostura, on the 11th of April, compelling them to shut themselves up in that town and its citadel. In May, Morillo received a reinforcement of one thousand six hundred men from Spain.

It is now time to turn our attention to the other sections of Spanish America. The Viceroyalty of New Grenada, now forming part of the republic of Colombia, comprehended, under the colonial system, the provinces situated between Guatimala, Venezuela, and Peru; its capital was Santa Fé de Bogotá, which is at present also the capital of the republic of Colombia, and is now called simply Bogotá, the name of Santa Fé being suppressed.

Soon after intelligence was received at Carthagena, from Spain, of the dispersion of

the Central Junta, the municipality, supported generally by the troops and the inhabitants, after some dispute with the governor, succeeded in deposing him, and in giving the control of the province to the second in command, Don N. Soria. The provinces of Socarro and Pamplona also revolted. These examples were followed by the inhabitants of Bogotá, who at a public meeting, assembled under the sanction of Don A. Armar, the Viceroy, on the evening of the 20th of July 1810, elected a Junta, who, however, acknowledged the superiority of the Regency of Cadiz, and even chose the Viceroy as their President.

A few days afterwards, it being reported that the Viceroy and the Audiencia were forming a conspiracy against the new government, the Viceroy, his lady, and almost all the members of the Audiencia, were arrested: they were first conveyed to Cartha-

gena under an escort, and then sent to Spain. The Junta now disowned the authority of the Regency; and issued a manifesto, inviting the provinces of New Grenada to send deputies to Bogotá, for the purpose of forming a congress, with the view of considering what form of government should be established.

The revolution thus commenced in New Grenada, was joined by the provinces of Tunja, Pamplona, Casanare, Carthagena, Socorro, Antioquia, Citara or Chocó, Neyva, and Mariquita; Santa Martha was also amongst the number, but the royalists succeeded in instigating a popular commotion, and through that means, in establishing, on the 22d of the following December, a Junta, devoted to their own opinions. In Popayan, the principal persons of the province assembled at the instance of Don N. Tacon, the governor, and voted for the formation of

a popular Junta; but Tacon differing in opinion with them, dissolved the meeting. Not content with this, Tacon raised an army, for the purpose of attacking the new government at Bogotá; who, to avert the threatened danger, sent out a body of troops, under the command of Don A. Baraya. In the beginning of 1811, an action was fought on the banks of the River Palace, three leagues from Popayan, in which Tacon was defeated.

It was shortly previous to this, that the Regency of Spain adopted a measure which, had it been earlier resorted to, and more extensively applied, might have done much towards restoring the authority of the mother-country in Spanish America. They appointed two native Americans, Don A. Villavicencio, and Don C. Montufar, with the title of *Commissionados Regios*, to support their authority in New Grenada: that

authority, however, was on their arrival already at an end, and no efforts of the new commissioners were in any manner availing for its restoration. Montufar, whose father, the Marques Selva Alegre, had been amongst those massacred at Quito on the 2d of August 1810, so far worked upon the fears of the Spanish authorities, as to induce them to establish a Junta there; a circumstance rendered remarkable by its being the only Junta of which the Regency approved.

On the 19th of September 1810, the Junta of Carthagena published a manifesto, urging the federal union of the provinces of New Grenada; but, at the same time, dwelling upon the perfect freedom of the provinces to adopt any form of government which they pleased, and asserting, that the revolution at Bogotá had destroyed the bond of union between the provinces and their

capital. Whatever were the motives which dictated the drawing up of this document, its publication unfortunately threw the apple of discord amongst the population of New Grenada. The inhabitants of the departments of San Gil, in the province of Socorro; of Giron, in the province of Pamplona; of Monpox, in the province of Carthagena; and of other departments, conceived the notion, in consequence, of separating themselves from their respective provinces, and of forming their departments into new provinces. The town of Monpox formed a Junta, and nominated deputies to the Congress of New Grenada. The government of Carthagena, thus opposed in its own province, though in consequence of its own acts, sent a force under the command of Don N. Ayos against Monpox, which town was compelled to renew its former allegiance to Carthagena in January 1811. Circumstances of this nature may

serve to account for that spirit of hostility which so often started up amongst the patriots themselves, and which not unfrequently injured their cause, and tended to delay its final success.

The Congress assembled at Bogotá in December 1810; but there being a difference of opinion amongst the members, as to whether the deputies, elected by those departments which wished to become separate provinces, should be allowed to take their seats, it was at length agreed, chiefly by the persuasion of Don A. Nariño, the secretary, to adjourn its sittings. In the mean time, the pretensions of these departments were got rid of: the Congress again assembled, and on the 27th of November 1811, a federal compact was concluded between the representatives of the provinces of Pamplona, Tunja, Neyva, Carthagena, and Antioquia. The province of

Cundinamarca, of which Bogotá was the capital, disapproved of the articles of the federation; and the Junta of Bogotá having convened an assembly of the deputies of the province, a constitution was preliminarily agreed upon, acknowledging the sovereignty of Ferdinand the VIIth., which was ratified on the 17th of April 1812, by an assembly specially empowered for that purpose.

Tacon, the royalist governor of Popayan, who, after his defeat at Palace, had fled to Los Pastos, increased his force there by giving liberty to the slaves. Opposed, however, by troops sent against him both from Popayan, and by the Junta of Quito, he was unable to maintain his ground, and retreated to the south-east coast, near the port of San Buenaventura: he was pursued by Don N. Rodriguez, who had succeeded Baraya in the command of the troops, and

who completely defeated him at Isquande, near the end of 1811.

Many of the difficulties and disasters of the patriots now arose from their differences of opinion respecting modes of government. Don J. Lozano, the first president of Cundinamarca, under its new constitution, proposed to the provinces of New Grenada to divide their territory into four parts, to be united under a federal constitution. This scheme was opposed by the Junta of Carthagena, who were seconded by the Congress of New Grenada, at that time (in consequence of what had happened at Bogotá) assembled at the town of Ibague. Lozano resigned his situation, and was succeeded by Don A. Nariño, who had another plan of constitution, in proposing which he was joined by the provinces of Mariquita, Neyva, and Socorro: that of Tunja was about to unite with him,

when a detachment of Nariño's troops, stationed in the town of Tunja, under the command of Baraya, suddenly changed sides, and acknowledged the authority of the Congress. The Congress, in consequence, immediately transferred its sittings to Tunja, and a civil war arose, in the beginning of 1812, between the partizans of that body and the party of Nariño.

Nariño's troops were defeated at Paloblanco, in the province of Socorro, by the army of the Congress, under the command of Baraya, J. Ayala, and A. Ricaute; and the provinces of Mariquita and Neyva, having been induced to change sides, and espouse the cause of the Congress, the latter body established itself in the town of Neyva on the 4th of October 1812. Nariño's troops were again defeated at Ventaquemada, and the army of the Congress laid siege to Bogotá. Nariño, who had

resigned the presidency, proposed to quit New Grenada, if the besiegers would spare the lives and property of the inhabitants of Bogotá. They, however, insisted on a surrender at discretion; but, on attempting to storm the place, they were completely repulsed, and their army in consequence dispersed, with the exception of a division commanded by Girardot, which retreated to Tunja.

The Junta of Quito, the only one, as already stated, the establishment of which received the approbation of the Regency of Spain, found it necessary to raise a body of troops, for the purposes of defence against the royalists of the province of Cuenca, (situated on the frontiers of New Grenada, in the viceroyalty of Peru,) who, with the Bishop at their head, and having amongst their officers several clergymen, who car-

ried black standards, assumed the appalling appellation of the army of death. This circumstance, amongst others, is a striking manifestation of that spirit of deadly hatred and revenge which actuated the royalists, and which rendered the warfare they carried on nearly one continued scene of sanguinary cruelty.

Don N. Molina, who, by the Regency of Spain, had been appointed president of the Junta of Quito, entered its territory, at the head of the troops from Lima, which had been withdrawn from thence after the massacre on the 2d of August 1810. The Junta acknowledged the authority of the Regency of Spain, but refused to receive Molina at the head of an army as their president; and having appealed to the Cortes, the latter body ordered Molina to put a stop to hostilities; which, however, he refused,

upon the pretext, that the order had been obtained by means of false representations; but he soon afterwards gave up the command.

The army of Quito, commanded by Don C. Montufar, was defeated by the royalist forces from Cuenca; and Don N. Montes, who had succeeded Molina, entered Quito on the 6th of November 1812, signalizing his victory by the most horrid barbarities: for, not content with the slaughter which took place upon the entrance of the royalist troops, he deliberately ordered one in every five of the inhabitants who remained in the city to be put to death; a deed of cruelty of which he boasted in a letter, written by himself on the 11th of November to the governor of Guayaquil.

The command of the army was now given by Montes to Don N. Samano, who marched

towards Bogotá, and on his way took the town of Popayan. The royalists of Pastos had previously made prisoners Don J. Caycedo, late president of the Junta of Quito; a North-American, named Macauley, who had commanded the troops of Popayan; and several other officers, all of whom were put to death. In consequence of the danger which menaced the patriot cause, the Congress of New Grenada, and Narino, agreed to suspend their differences, and join in resisting the royalists: their united troops amounted to eight thousand men, under the orders of Narino himself, who had been appointed to the command with dictatorial powers.

Narino defeated the royalists in the battle fought in El alto del Palace, and Samano retreated to Tumbo, seven leagues south of Popayan. Being there reinforced, he again advanced towards Popayan, encamping his

army at Calivio. Narino, who had divided his army into three corps, commanded respectively by himself, Cabal, and Monsalve, marched against the royalists, and a second time defeated them. Aymeric, who was appointed to succeed Samano, brought up fresh troops from Quito. Narino, in the mean time, organized a popular government at Popayan, and marched towards Pastos. The province of Popayan, and the territory of Pastos, situated on the Andes, presented defiles which were easily defended, and which having been fortified by the royalists, greatly increased the difficulties of the patriot army.

On his way to Pastos, Narino attacked El alto de Tuanumbu, which he succeeded in taking, but with great loss. He also captured Los Tacines and Aranda, but only after some severe actions, in which several of his officers were killed. He had nearly

reached Pastos, when a part of his army was thrown into confusion, through a false report, circulated by some of the enemy's spies; and being attacked at the moment, he was defeated, and taken prisoner, in June 1814. Don J. M. Cabal, who succeeded him in the command, had great difficulty, in consequence of this sinister event, in effecting his retreat to Popayan, his troops being closely pursued by Aymeric.

Narino, as already mentioned, had so early as 1794 manifested his opinions in favour of independence. Escaping from Spain, whither he had been conveyed in custody, he was in England in 1796, when a plan was in contemplation for effecting the separation of Spanish America from the mother-country. He returned, *incognito*, to New Grenada, but being discovered, he was imprisoned for many years: he was

now conveyed to Quito, and from thence to Lima, and was subsequently confined at La Caracca, in Cadiz. He was released at the period of the late revolution in Spain, and has since returned to his country.

About the same time that the Congress of New Grenada received the news of the retreat of their army to Popayan, they also received intelligence of the victories obtained by Boves over the patriots of Venezuela; of the re-establishment of Ferdinand the VIIth upon the throne of Spain; and of the fall of Bonaparte. It is well known, that one of the first acts of Ferdinand, after his restoration, was to order the Spanish Americans to lay down their arms, by his decree of the 4th of June 1814; which was followed by the equipment of the expedition at Cadiz, under the command of Morillo, already alluded to. Whether the government of Spain was administered by a Junta,

a Cortes, a Regency, or by the Sovereign himself and his ministers, the exasperation against the Spanish American patriots remained the same, or rather continued to increase. By all of them conciliation was rejected with disdain; they were obstinately determined to have recourse to no power but that of the sword; and thus, by the sword, the authority of the mother-country has been destroyed. The hopes of reconciliation, which, up to that period, had been fondly entertained by a great number of individuals in Spanish America, were so completely destroyed by the conduct of the government of Ferdinand, that no chance of their renovation remained; on the contrary, they seem to have been converted into all the bitterness of rage and despair; and it is from that moment, that the revolt against the royal authority in Spanish America may be said to date its actual commencement.

The crisis to the patriots was of course difficult and perilous: the Congress of New Grenada issued a proclamation, dated Tunja, the 1st of September 1814, assuring the people, that they had only to choose between submitting to the most abject slavery, or bravely fighting for their independence; and that, to achieve the latter object, it was absolutely essential that they should be united amongst themselves. It is deeply to be lamented, that the union which they thus called for, and which was so obviously necessary, should not have been at once effected; nor can it be otherwise than a subject for the greatest astonishment, that the obstinacy, which so strongly characterized the conduct of the Spaniards, should, under the circumstances of their situation, be so perversely imitated by some of the patriot leaders. That, united, they should have been as firmly determined to resist, as the Spaniards were resolutely bent upon con-

quering, would have been, of course, worthy of admiration: but that they should perseveringly quarrel about forms of government before they were certain, or even could form any decided opinion, whether they would be enabled to have any government whatever of their own, presents, on the part of some of the patriot chiefs, a species of folly which, perhaps, can only be paralleled by the conduct of the Spaniards themselves.

Don Bernardo Alvarez, who had succeeded Narino as President of Cundinamarca, persisted, notwithstanding the critical circumstances in which all were placed, in refusing to enter into the general confederation; and he thus impeded the execution of the measures, which were adopting for the defence of the country. Alvarez, at length, (there being every reason to believe that the people of the province were, generally,

in favour of the confederation,) deputed Don J. Lozano to negotiate with the Congress: a treaty was concluded, by which it was agreed that the province of Cundinamarca should join the confederation; but even this treaty Alvarez refused to ratify, proposing instead of it an alliance, which the Congress declined to accept.

The provinces of Casanare, Pamplona, Tunja, Neyva, Choco, Popayan, Carthagena, Mariquita, Socorro, and Antioquia, acted in concert with each other, under the orders of the Congress; and towards the end of 1814, Bolivar having arrived at Tunja, where that body again held its sittings, it was determined to make another attempt to compel the President of Cundinamarca to acknowledge its authority. The division of the army of Venezuela, which, under the command of Urdineta, had retired to Cucuta, in consequence of the defeat of Boli-

var at La Puerta, was ordered to Tunja; and, having been there reinforced, it marched, in December 1814, under the orders of Bolivar, against Bogotá. The city was stormed, and the principal suburbs were already in the possession of Bolivar, when he offered terms of capitulation, which Alvarez accepted; and according to which, Cundinamarca was to join the confederation, enjoying the same rights and privileges that were then possessed by the confederate provinces. The Congress, soon afterwards, removed its sittings to Bogotá, which had always been the capital of New Grenada, though it was also the provincial capital of Cundinamarca.

Reinforcements were sent to the army at Popayan, which, still under the orders of Cabal, was checking, in that quarter, the progress of the royalists: a body of troops, under the command of Urdineta, was like-

wise marched to protect the province of Pamplona, against the attacks of the royalists of Maracaybo. To obtain possession of Santa Martha, which was held by the enemy, was a very important object, with a view to the complete defence of the country against the expedition from Spain, under the command of Morillo; and for this purpose, a body of troops was sent under the immediate command of Bolivar, who had been appointed by the Congress, Captain-general of the armies of New Grenada and Venezuela.

The government of Carthagena was opposed to some of the measures of the Congress, and hostile to this appointment of Bolivar; and the latter, unhappily, suffered himself to be so far led astray by his resentment, as to lay siege to Carthagena, within sight almost of the common enemy, for Morillo was then fast approaching. It is

true that, subsequently, Bolivar quitted the province of Carthagena, leaving the remainder of his troops to join in the defence of the city against the Spaniards: but it cannot be denied, that whilst this ill-timed hostility was proceeding between two parties of the patriots, immense advantages were obtained by the royalists. Which of the parties was right, or in what respect, is now of little importance; but, undoubtedly, they were both wrong, in allowing their dissentions to proceed to such a fatal extremity. Bolivar, however, made ample amends for the error by his conduct and exertions at a later period.

Morillo, for a time, carried every thing before him: the patriots, after they had lost Carthagena, were defeated in the battle of Cachiri, and afterwards at Remedios, and Morillo entered Bogotá in June 1816. His victories, however, from the losses he sus-

tained, and from the impossibility of his receiving reinforcements from Spain, adequate to the purpose he had in view, obtained for the cause of the royalists only a temporary advantage; and when he had apparently conquered New Grenada and Venezuela, he found it impossible to retain them under the authority of the mother-country. It appears from an intercepted letter of his, dated Monpox, the 7th of March 1816, and addressed to the minister of war in Spain, that at the moment when he was obtaining, what might seem to a superficial observer the greatest advantages, he was himself despairing of ultimate success.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE HISTORY CONCLUDED.

SUCCESSES, AND ULTIMATE TRIUMPH OF BOLIVAR—ANECDOTES—DREADFUL PASSAGE OF THE PARAMO OF CHISBA.

INTERRUPTING for a time the narrative of events in this quarter, I now proceed briefly to notice what passed at Buenos-Ayres, Monte Video, &c. Rio de la Plata, bounded by the Brazils, Peru, Chili, and Patagonia, consisted of twenty provinces, some of them situated on the Andes, namely, Moxos, Chiquitos, Apolobamba, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, La Poz, Cochabamba, Carangas, Misque, Paria, Charcas, Potosi, and Atacarma; and the others, denominated the

low provinces, viz. Tarija, Salta, Paraguay, Tucuman, Cordova, Cuyo, Enteerios, Monte Video or Banda, Oriental, and Buenos-Ayres, the city of the last-mentioned name being the capital.

The Junta of Buenos-Ayres commenced its functions on the 25th of May 1810; it was opposed by the Ex-viceroy, Liniers, who raised a force of two thousand men, and laid waste the environs of the city of Cordova, in order to impede the march of the troops of the Junta. Soon afterwards, however, many of his soldiers having deserted him, and being attacked by Colonel Ocampo, commander of the forces from Buenos-Ayres, Liniers was taken prisoner.

The Junta of Buenos-Ayres then sent Don A. A. Jonte to Santiago, for the purpose of assisting in bringing about a revolution in Chili; which being effected, he remained there as chargé-d'affaires from the government of Buenos-Ayres, and subsequently induced the

Junta of Chili to send some troops to the assistance of Buenos-Ayres. Balcarce, who commanded a force from Buenos-Ayres, defeated the royalists under General Cordova, at Santiago, Cotagaitaya, and at Tupiza: Cordova was taken prisoner and shot, together with Nieto, who was the president of the Audiencia of Chuquisaca.

In the mean time, Don F. X. Elio had been appointed by the Regency of Spain captain-general of the provinces of Rio de la Plata, and his authority was recognized in that of Monte Video: Don J. Artigas, however, a native of Monte Video, and captain in the service of the royalists, having come to an understanding with the government of Buenos-Ayres, the latter supplied arms and ammunition, and some troops, under the command of Rondeau, for the purpose of exciting revolt in the provinces of Monte Video. Artigas and Rondeau, after obtaining several advantages over the

royalists, totally defeated them in the battle of Las Piedras, in May 1811; and having received reinforcements from Buenos-Ayres, they laid siege to the city of Monte Video. Elio, finding himself hard pressed, applied to the Portuguese government in the Brazils, by which four thousand men were sent to his assistance. Elio then made proposals of peace to the government of Buenos-Ayres, the terms of which being agreed upon in November 1811, the siege of Monte Video was raised; but the Portuguese, in violation of the treaty, remained, and afterwards committed hostilities in Rio de la Plata. At this period also the troops of Buenos-Ayres, which had been sent in the direction of Peru, were defeated by the royalists at Rio Nazareno, near Suipacha, and the vanguard of the latter, commanded by General Tristan, took possession of the province of Salta. The patriot general Belgrano retired by order of the Junta to Tucuman.

The government of Buenos-Ayres, however, sent four thousand men, under the command of Sarratea, against the Portuguese; and terms having been offered on the part of the latter, an armistice was agreed upon, in consequence of which, the Portuguese troops withdrew from the territory of Buenos-Ayres.

Tristan, the royalist commander, pursuing Belgrano, attacked him at Tucuman, on the 24th of September 1812, but was compelled to retreat, with the loss of one thousand one hundred men, killed, wounded, and prisoners.

Elio having broken the treaty concluded between him and the government of Buenos-Ayres, the latter determined on again besieging Monte Video; and by the middle of December 1812, several divisions of troops had arrived in the neighbourhood of Monte Video, from Buenos-Ayres, under the command of Rondeau. Don G. Vigodet, who

had, in the mean time, succeeded Elio, having received a reinforcement from Spain, attacked the patriots on the 31st of that month, but was repulsed with considerable loss. Further reinforcements then came from Buenos-Ayres, and Monte Video was regularly besieged. Vigodet, in order to effect a diversion, embarked a considerable number of troops, and landed them at Paranà. San Martin was sent to oppose this force, over which he obtained a complete victory, at San Lorenzo, on the river Paranà. Belgrano also obtained a complete victory, at Salta, on the 20th of February 1813, over the royalists of Peru, Tristan and his whole army being made prisoners; and in consequence of this, the patriots took possession of the provinces of Potosi, Charcas, Chayanta, and Cochabamba. Tristan, who had formerly been upon terms of intimacy with Belgrano, was allowed by the latter to withdraw into Peru with his army,

having first taken an oath not again to serve against Buenos-Ayres. This oath, however, was no sooner taken, than it was violated; Tristan and his soldiers proceeding to join the royalist General Goyeneche, in Peru, as if no engagement whatever had been contracted.

The government of Buenos-Ayres passed through various hands, and was administered in different forms, but the general tendency of its measures remained the same. Goyeneche was succeeded in the command of the royalist army of Peru by Pezuela, who marched to meet the patriots; Belgrano retreated to Ayuma, to the north of Chuquisaca, where he was totally defeated at the end of November 1813. The royalists thus again became possessed of Alta Peru, and also of Tarija, and Salta. San Martin was appointed to succeed Belgrano; and in consequence of his forming a new army, and setting in motion several corps of Guerillas,

Pezuela was compelled to abandon Salta and Tarija, and a part of Alta Peru.

Another measure was resorted to, which proved of essential service to the patriot cause: Don Juan Larrea, secretary of finance in Buenos-Ayres, succeeded in forming a naval force, consisting of two brigs, three corvettes, and a schooner, which were placed under the command of an English merchant, residing at Buenos-Ayres, named Brown. The latter having sailed with this flotilla, had an engagement with the royalist naval force, off Monte Video, on the 25th of May 1814, in which he captured two corvettes, and set fire to two others. The remainder of the royalist vessels escaped, and Brown then commenced the naval blockade of Monte Video. In consequence of some differences, which had formerly arisen between Artigas and Rondeau, the former withdrew his troops from the siege; and the

health of General San Martin being impaired, Rondeau was appointed to succeed him; the siege of Monte Video was then confided to Alvear, who took possession of the city, by capitulation, in June 1814.

Here again arose some of those unhappy dissensions which so frequently injured the cause of the patriots. Artigas demanded that Monte Video should be delivered up to him, as the chief of the province; this was refused by the government of Buenos-Ayres; and to oppose his attempts, troops were left in that part of the country, under the command of Soler, who had been appointed governor of Monte Video. Alvear obtained the appointment of general-in-chief of the army, denominated the Army of Peru; but was prevented from taking the command by the opposition of the troops, and of their commander, Rondeau: giving up that, he was nominated supreme di-

rector; and this gave rise to a schism—some of the provinces declaring for Alvear, and others for Rondeau.

Artigas, having defeated the troops of the government of Buenos-Ayres, obtained possession of Monte Video, and afterwards took the town of Santa Fé. Alvear sent against him two thousand men, under the command of Viana and Alvarez; but Alvarez revolted against his authority, and arrested Viana. Jonte also arrived from the army of Peru, with instructions to insist on Alvear's renouncing the supreme authority. Alvear withdrew from the city of Buenos-Ayres, sending in his resignation; but he still held the command of a body of troops: after some negotiation, however, a compromise was effected, and he was allowed to embark on board an English frigate. Rondeau was nominated supreme director; but his military duties requiring his presence with the army, Alvarez was appointed his substitute.

The latter convoked a new Congress; but before it assembled, he was, through a popular commotion, dispossessed of his office, Balcarce being appointed supreme director, but who was soon afterwards removed by the Congress which assembled at Tucuman, who nominated to that office Don J. M. Puyrreddon. The last-named supreme director gave the command of the army of Peru to Belgrano. Previously to this, that army had been defeated by the royalists at the battle of Sipe-Sipe, fought in November 1815, in consequence of which the latter, for the third time, obtained possession of Charcas, Potosi, and Tarija. A force under the orders of Viamont, sent against Artigas, was also routed, and its commander taken prisoner.

Brown, who, after the capture of Monte Video, had obtained the rank of admiral, sailed at the end of 1815, with the consent of the government of Buenos-Ayres, with

the naval force under his command, for the South Seas. Success at first attended this expedition in its attacks upon the Spanish commerce; but Brown's ship running on the sands near Guayaquil, it was captured by the Spaniards: Brown, however, was exchanged for the new governor of Guayaquil, who had some days before been taken prisoner by his cruisers. Brown captured several ships in the South Seas, and sent some of them to Buenos-Ayres; he at length sailed for the North, with a valuable booty, in the Hercules; but was captured by a British ship of war, and his vessel carried into Antigua, where it was condemned, on the ground of a violation of the navigation laws.

The Congress of Tucuman issued a declaration on the 9th of July 1816, formally announcing the independence of the provinces of Rio de la Plata.

It was soon after this that the Portuguese

invaded the province of Monte Video with ten thousand men, under the command of Le Cor, one part of whose troops took the road of Las Missiones de los Guaranies, whilst the other took possession of Santa Teresa, Rocha, San Carlos, and Maldonado; at which latter port Le Cor established his head-quarters in December 1816. Artigas opposed the Portuguese, but Le Cor succeeded in obtaining possession of Monte Video on the 20th of January 1817.

About the middle of January 1817, the division of the army of Buenos-Ayres, which had been for some time stationed on the frontiers of Chili, crossed the Andes; and after defeating the royalists in several actions, took possession of the provinces of that captain-generalship.

Chili, consisting of the provinces of Copiapo, Coquimbo, Guasco, Quillota, Aconcagua, Santiago, Melipilla, Valparaiso, Rancagua, Talca, Chillan, Laxa, and Concepcion

de Penco, is situated between the Andes and the Pacific Ocean; and is bounded on the north by Peru, on the east by the provinces of Rio de la Plata, and on the south by Arauco, from which it is separated by the river Biobio.

The captain-general, Carrasco, having been compelled by the inhabitants of Santiago, the capital, to resign his command on the 18th of July 1810, the Count de la Conquista was appointed to succeed him.—A plan for a revolution was then developed; and a new government having been established on the 18th of September 1810, the count was nominated its president. A Congress was assembled; but some disputes having taken place with respect to its formation, it was agreed, in September 1810, to re-model it,—and thus a new Congress was convoked. Its power, however, was not of long duration: three brothers of the name of Carrera, having succeeded in ob-

taining an influence over the troops, put themselves at their head on the 15th of November 1811, and compelled the Congress to depose the Junta of Government, and to nominate in its stead three other individuals, one of whom was Don J. M. Carrera. The new Junta then dissolved the Congress on the 2d of December 1811.

Availing himself of the dissensions which arose out of these events, the Viceroy of Lima sent a body of troops to invade Chili, under the command of Pareja; who landing in the beginning of 1813, attacked and took Talcahuana, and advanced to the city of Concepcion, the garrison of which declared for him, and joined his army. Pareja, having now nearly four thousand men, continued his march towards the Maule, a river which separates the Intendencias of Santiago and Concepcion. J. M. Carrera took the field at the head of six thousand men; and approaching the royalists, he, in the

night of the 12th of April, sent out a detachment for the purpose of surprising their encampment at Yerbas-buenas. This scheme partly succeeded, the royalists having greatly suffered; but the patriot detachment also sustained a heavy loss. Pareja, however, was deterred from continuing the campaign, and retired to, and fortified himself in Chillan; whilst the patriots recovered possession of Talcahuana and of Concepcion. The royalist troops remained nearly a year at Chillan, without any engagement of importance taking place; and, in consequence of the death of Pareja, Gainza was appointed to succeed him, who took the command, bringing also reinforcements from Lima.

J. M. Carrera had, in the mean time, become very unpopular, in consequence of his despotism, and his unskilfulness as a general; and O'Higgins was appointed to succeed him, with M'Kenna for his second

in command, on the 24th of November 1813. Carrera, at first, refused to resign his command; but the army declaring for O'Higgins, he was obliged to yield; and on his way afterwards to Santiago, he and his brother Lewis were taken prisoners by a detachment of royalists, and conveyed to Chillan. Gainza, the new royalist commander, attempted some operations, but was repulsed with loss by O'Higgins and M'Kenna, on the 19th and 20th of March 1814. He then planned an attack upon Santiago, but this he was compelled to abandon; and he then retired to Talca, which town he had previously taken. His communication however with Chillan was intercepted by O'Higgins.

Another revolution now took place at Santiago, in consequence of the capture of Talca by the royalists being attributed to the misconduct of the Junta; and Captain Hillyar, of his Britannic Majesty's frigate

the Phœbe, having arrived at the time from Lima, with instructions from the Viceroy to propose terms of accommodation to the government of Chili, a capitulation was concluded on the 5th of May 1814; according to which the royalist troops were to re-embark for Lima; the Viceroy of Lima was to acknowledge the government of Chili; and the latter was to send a certain number of deputies to Spain, who were to have seats in the Cortes. Gainza, however, the royalist commander, delayed, under various pretences, complying with the articles of the treaty; and at length General Osorio arrived with reinforcements from Lima, and took the command of the royal army. In the interval, J. M. Carrera and his brother Lewis, having escaped from Chillan, and arrived at Santiago, succeeded, with the aid of some troops, in again placing themselves at the head of the government on the 23d of August 1814.

O'Higgins, at the request of the inhabitants, who highly disapproved of the change, marched towards the capital, and a civil war was on the eve of taking place between the two parties; the two bodies of troops, under the respective commands of O'Higgins and J. M. Carrera, being about to engage.

At this juncture a person arrived at Santiago, deputed by Osorio, who announced that Abascal, the Viceroy of Lima, disapproved of the capitulation. O'Higgins, much to his honour, in order to put an end to dissensions at so critical a moment, agreed to submit to the new Junta. J. M. Carrera, however, by dismissing some of the best officers, so disgusted the troops, that a great number of them deserted; in consequence of which he left the army (of which he had taken the command) under the orders of O'Higgins, and returned to Santiago. Osorio, at the head of four thousand men,

advanced to Cochapual; and O'Higgins took a position at Rancagua, twenty-three leagues from Santiago: there he was attacked by Osorio, and an engagement ensued which lasted for thirty-six hours. J. M. Carrera, during the action, approached the town with a body of troops, but gave no assistance to O'Higgins. The latter, at length, having lost two-thirds of his troops, was compelled to retreat, and the Carreras took flight with a body of troops.

In consequence of these events, Osorio possessed himself, without opposition, of Santiago, Valparaiso, and other places; and the whole of Chili was subjected to the royal authority, by the end of October 1814. The result was the arrest and imprisonment of many of the patriots, a great number of whom were sent to the desert island of Juan Fernandez.

It was in consequence of this victorious career of the royalists, and to prevent them

from pursuing their success, that troops were sent to the frontiers of Chili, by the government of Buenos-Ayres, under the command of San Martin, and which were joined by a number of the patriots from Chili. This army was gradually increased to four thousand men; and the oppression of the royalists having excited the greatest discontent in Chili, San Martin, as already mentioned, invaded the country in January 1817. The royalists took a position at Chacabuco, thirteen leagues from Santiago, where they were attacked and totally defeated by San Martin, losing one thousand two hundred men in killed and prisoners; the remainder of the royalist force dispersed, and the Captain-general Marco, who commanded in the battle, was taken prisoner near Santiago. San Martin advanced to Santiago, where a congress of the principal inhabitants elected him supreme director of Chili: he, however, declined the honour;

upon which the congress appointed to that situation General O'Higgins; but San Martin was nominated commander-in-chief of the united armies of Chili and Buenos-Ayres.

The remnant of the royalist forces, after the battle of Chacabuco, took refuge in Talcahuana, from whence the patriots were unable to dislodge them. In the beginning of 1818, Osorio was again sent to Chili, by the Viceroy of Lima, or of Peru, as he is sometimes styled, with five thousand of the best troops in that Viceroyalty, who succeeded in making good their landing at Talcahuana. The royalist army, now amounting to eight thousand men, commenced offensive operations, and drove back the patriots, who in an action at Talca, on the 19th of March 1818, sustained a signal defeat.

San Martin, however, in conjunction with O'Higgins and Las Heras, succeeded in rallying the patriot troops and recruiting

their numbers; whilst the inhabitants of Santiago not only subscribed money, but gave up all their plate and jewels, to furnish the requisite supplies. San Martin was thus enabled to bring the army again into the field with astonishing rapidity—a rapidity which seems to have had the effect of disconcerting his opponents; for, on the 5th of April 1818, only seventeen days after his late defeat, he gave the royalists battle on the plains of Maypo, and, after a hard-fought contest, obtained a complete victory. Some of the remaining royalist troops endeavoured afterwards to make a stand at Concepcion, but they were soon driven out; and Chili was left, and has hitherto remained, in the undisturbed possession of its natives.

After taking some time to arrange the internal affairs of the country, the Chilian government, in concert with that of Buenos-Ayres, (a treaty having been concluded be-

tween them for that purpose, dated the 5th of February 1819,) came to the determination of commencing offensive operations against the royalists, by making an attack upon Peru; a measure which was first proposed by San Martin, and which was undoubtedly dictated by sound policy, as the Chilians could never consider themselves decidedly safe, whilst the royalists possessed the means of assembling a force so immediately in their neighbourhood.

Peru was left nearly defenceless, in consequence of the numbers of troops it had sent to attack the patriots in Chili; but, owing to various circumstances, it was not till March 1820 that any active progress was made in the Chilian expedition; nor would the Chilians then have had a sufficient naval force, (that of the Spaniards in the Pacific being considerable,) had it not been for the exertions of Lord Cochrane, who, on the invitation of the Chilian govern-

ment, agreed to take the command of their navy, and which was conferred upon his lordship in November 1818, on his arrival in Chili.

By September 1819, the Chilian fleet, under the direction of Lord Cochrane, was greatly increased, and rendered highly efficient; and an attack was then made upon the batteries and shipping at Callao, which served in some degree to intimidate the Spaniards. He had previously, on the 1st of March in that year, issued a proclamation, declaring Callao and the other ports of Peru in a state of blockade. His lordship afterwards sailed to Guayaquil, where he surprised and captured a number of valuable Spanish ships, laden with timber and naval stores: he subsequently went to Valdivia, an important and strongly fortified town, to the south of Chili, belonging to the Spaniards, where he not only successively carried all the enemy's batteries, mounting

seventy pieces of cannon, but also possessed himself of the town and province.

The Chilian government was in the mean time employed in preparing the expedition, for which purpose it removed from the capital to Valparaiso, in order the more effectually to co-operate with San Martin in the organization of the army. Lord Cochrane, on his return from Valdivia, devoted himself with the greatest zeal and assiduity to the equipment of the fleet; and the expedition was ready for sailing on the 15th of August 1820. The number of troops consisted of nearly five thousand men. San Martin was appointed commander-in-chief and captain-general of the united liberating army of Peru. The fleet under Lord Cochrane comprised the O'Higgins of fifty guns; the San Martin, sixty; the Lautaro, forty; Independencia, twenty-four; three smaller vessels, and twenty transports.

The expedition sailed on the 20th of Au-

gust, and on the 11th of September the whole army had disembarked at Pisco, about one hundred miles south of Lima. The Viceroy, Don Joaquim Pezuela, having decided to concentrate his force near Lima, the liberating army at first met with no resistance. On the 26th, an armistice for eight days having been agreed upon, a conference was held between commissioners nominated by both parties, at Miraflores, a village between two and three leagues south of Lima. Propositions were made on both sides; but the parties could not agree, and the armistice was declared to be at an end on the 4th of October. San Martin marched to Ancon; and Lord Cochrane, with part of his squadron, anchored in the outer roads of Callao, the seaport of Lima. Here his lordship undertook what appeared to be a desperate enterprize, the cutting out the Spanish ship Esmeralda, a large forty-gun frigate, which was moored, with two sloops of war, under

the guns of the castle, within a semicircle of fourteen gun-boats, and a boom made of spars chained together. The coolness and intrepidity with which this was effected, at midnight on the 5th of November, were perhaps never surpassed: the frigate was most gallantly captured, and was steered triumphantly out of the harbour, under the fire of the whole of the north face of the castle. The Spaniards, in this action, had upwards of one hundred and twenty men killed and wounded; the Chilians, eleven killed and thirty wounded. Lord Cochrane thus obtained an ascendancy upon the coast, which the Spaniards did not afterwards venture to dispute.

On land, Colonel Arenales was sent from Pisco, with one thousand men, to proceed by a circuitous route round Lima; chiefly for the purpose of rousing the inhabitants in the cause of independence. In his march he met with, and totally defeated, a strong

division of the royalist troops; the whole of which, with their commander, were either killed or taken prisoners. On the 3d of December, a whole regiment of the royalist force, with their colonel at their head, went over to the independents. San Martin at the end of 1820 proceeded with his army to Huara, a strong position near the port of Huacho, situated seventy-five miles to the northward of Lima, where he remained inactive for upwards of six months. The inhabitants of the country were, however, in the mean time sufficiently influenced to cut off the principal supply of provisions to the capital by land; and Callao being at the same time closely blockaded by Lord Cochrane, Lima was reduced to great distress for want of provisions.

Referring all the evil to the executive government, the royalist army deposed the Viceroy, and elected a new one in the person of General La Serna. The new Viceroy,

however, unable to overcome the difficulties which enveloped the cause of the royalists in Peru, requested an armistice; which was agreed to by San Martin, and hostilities were suspended for two months. Various propositions were again made, but no arrangement could be effected, and the armistice was again broken.

At length, on the 6th July 1821, the Viceroy marched out of Lima with all his troops, nominating the Marquess of Montemiré as governor of the city; and on the 12th, San Martin entered the capital. The royalists retained possession of Callao, which, however, was blockaded both by sea and land. On the 20th of July, the independence of Peru was formally proclaimed. On the 3d of August, San Martin issued a proclamation, notifying that he had assumed the title of Protector of Peru, and that the supreme political and military authority was vested

in him. The next day he issued another proclamation, ordering those Spaniards to quit the country who did not choose to swear to its independence.

On the 10th of September, a considerable royalist force, under the command of General Canterac, marched past Lima to Callao, and, having remained there a few days, retired into the interior, carrying with them the treasure which had been deposited in the castle. San Martin declined risking an engagement with this force, in consequence of which a great outcry was raised against him, and his popularity much diminished. Callao, however, surrendered a few days afterwards. On leaving Lima for a short time, San Martin appointed the Marquess of Torre Tagle as supreme delegate in his absence; but the executive administration was chiefly intrusted to Don Bernardo Monteagudo, who, subsequently

rendering himself obnoxious to the people of Lima, was deposed, imprisoned, and afterwards banished to Panama.

A patriot force under General Tristan, sent by San Martin against the royalists, was defeated in May 1822. San Martin remained inactive; but in July he left Lima for Guayaquil, where he had an interview with Bolivar: the latter furnished a body of troops, with which San Martin sailed from Guayaquil, and returned to Lima. The Congress assembled on the 20th of September 1822; and San Martin having resigned his authority into their hands, and declined to accept the office of generalissimo of the armies of Peru, to which they elected him, sailed for Chili.

Under the direction of the Congress, affairs went on but indifferently; and in June 1823, the royalist general, Canterac, re-entered Lima. Bolivar has since proceeded to Peru, with a considerable force,

from Colombia; and the result most probably will be the fall of Peru, and consequently the completion of the freedom of the whole of Spanish America.

Guatémâla declared its independence in the latter end of 1819; but, from the smallness of its territory and population, it will probably become a part of one of the adjacent states. Paraguay had a revolution of its own, totally unconnected with the other sections of Spanish America;—but of its present state very little is known.

I now propose briefly to notice the events which occurred in Mexico. The Viceroyalty of Mexico, or New Spain, was divided into two Captain-generalships,—those of Mexico and Yucatan; and subdivided into twelve intendencias, namely, Mexico, Puebla, Oaxaca, Vera Cruz, Merida de Yucatan, Guadalaxara, Guanaxato, Durango, San Luis Potosi, Sonora, Valladolid de Mechoachan, and Zacatecas: there were also the distinct

territories of the Corregimiente, of Queretaro, and the Gobierno de Tlascala. The population of Mexico amounted in 1816 to six millions; that of the capital alone being one hundred and forty thousand.

After the deposition of the Viceroy Iturrigary, already mentioned, nothing material happened in Mexico until the 14th of September 1810, when a revolt commenced, which was effected by Hidalgo, a priest, who possessed a valuable living in Dolores, and was a man of distinguished talents. He was popular amongst the Indians; and their discontent, and the dislike towards the Spaniards which generally prevailed in Mexico, afforded him ample materials for arranging his plan of revolution. In this project he was materially assisted by Allende, Aldama, and Abasolo, natives of Mexico, who were all captains in the cavalry regiment de la Reyna.

The revolt was to have taken place in

all the provinces of Mexico on the 1st of November 1810; but one of the parties concerned having made a discovery, the execution of the project was hastened; and thus the Indians at Dolores were summoned to arms on the 14th of September. Hidalgo, joined by a number of troops, proceeded to Zelaya, and from thence to Guaxanato, sixty leagues W. N. W. of Mexico, which (the soldiers there having declared for the patriots) he took possession of, and found a considerable sum of money.

The new Viceroy, Venegas, who had arrived at Mexico on the 16th of September, despatched a force, under the command of the Count de la Cadena, to defend Queretaro, an important military point, forty-two leagues from Mexico. Lagos, Zacatecas, and several other towns, declared for the patriots. Hidalgo entered Valladolid on the 20th of October, where he was joined by two regiments of militia. On the 24th he

fell back to Indaparapeo, where he was proclaimed generalissimo of the Mexican armies: the troops under his command had then increased to eighty thousand men, whom he divided into regiments, and took great pains to discipline.

Hidalgo marched towards Mexico by the way of Marabatio, Tepetongo, Jordana, and Istlahuaca, and entered Toluca, twelve leagues west of the capital, on the 27th of October. The royalist troops were separated, the different divisions being at considerable distances from each other; and Venegas, who had but a small number in Mexico, resorted to an expedient which produced a considerable effect: he applied to the archbishop, and to the Inquisition, who issued a sentence of excommunication against Hidalgo and all his troops. Hidalgo, being himself a priest, was enabled to counteract in his own army, and amongst his followers, the impression which would

otherwise have been made by the excommunication; but it excited a dread amongst the inhabitants of Mexico, in those provinces which the revolt had not hitherto reached, and induced them to remain tranquil.

Hidalgo crossed the Lerma, and at El Monte de las Cruces defeated a royalist force, commanded by Colonel Truxillo: he approached the capital within a very short distance on the 31st of October, but did not attempt to storm it; and the next morning retired, encamping his troops on a hill near the village of Aculco. In the mean time one of his commanders, General Sanchez, had been defeated at Queretaro; and another, Calleja, had, with his division, joined the royalist general, the Count de la Cadena, on the 28th of October: these united forces marched towards Mexico, and on the 7th of November Calleja attacked Hidalgo in his camp. The latter was de-

feated with the loss, according to Calleja's official report, of ten thousand men, killed, wounded, and prisoners.

Hidalgo retreated to Guanaxuato, whither he was pursued by Calleja, who, on the 24th of November, captured the batteries of the patriots, and on the next day stormed and took the town. On the 26th all the officers, who had been made prisoners, and many others, were shot. Hidalgo marched to Guadalaxara, one hundred and fifty leagues N. W. of Mexico, defeating in different skirmishes several royalist detachments; and San Blas, where he obtained forty-three pieces of cannon, surrendered to him by capitulation. In the mean time a patriot force was defeated at Zamora by Don J. Cruz, who entered Valladolid, and behaved towards the inhabitants with the most savage cruelty.

Calleja advanced to Guadalaxara, and a battle was fought, on the 17th of January

1811, at El Puente de Calderon, eleven leagues from thence, in which Hidalgo was totally defeated. San Blas fell again into the power of the royalists. Hidalgo, with the remnant of his troops, proceeded to Zacatecas; from thence to San Luis Potosi, and then to Saltillo, about two hundred leagues from Mexico. On the 21st of March 1811, some of his officers having been gained over to the royalists, Hidalgo was unexpectedly attacked at Acatita de Bajon by Don Y. Elisondo, who commanded a detachment of his own army; he was thus easily overcome, and himself and the officers of his staff were made prisoners: fifty-two of the latter were executed on the spot, and Hidalgo and nine others were taken to Chiguagua, where, on the 27th of July 1811, they were likewise put to death.

Other chiefs, however, still remained, who supported the patriot cause; amongst these were Don N. Villagran, Don J. M.

Morelos, and more particularly, Don Y. Rayon, a lawyer by profession, who took up a position at Zacatecas. A body of guerillas also, under the command of Colonel Lopez, fortified Zitaquaro; and being there attacked by a royalist force under Torre and Mora, on the 22d of May 1811, the latter were completely defeated,—the two commanders being killed in the action. Rayon, after failing in an attempt upon Valladolid, established his head-quarters at Zitaquaro, where he was attacked, on the 4th of June, by Emparan, a royalist commander, who, after losing eight hundred men, was compelled to retreat to Zoluca.

A Junta was formed at Zitaquaro, by Rayon, who continued there till the 2d of January 1812, when the town was taken by Calleja; who, with that spirit of vengeance which almost uniformly influenced the conduct of the royalists, ordered every building in Zitaquaro to be rased to the ground, or

destroyed by fire. The Junta took refuge at El Real de Zultepec, thirty leagues W. of Mexico.

The patriot general Morelos, having defeated the royalists in several engagements, and decisively at Tixtla on the 19th of August 1811, laid siege to Acapulco, and with the principal part of his army marched towards Mexico. Different divisions of his troops gained several advantages on his march: he fortified Quautla Amilpas, which Calleja attempted to storm on the 19th of February; but, after an engagement which lasted six hours, was compelled to retreat Calleja, however, laid siege to the town; and on the 27th of May, when the siege had lasted seventy-five days, and provisions began to fail, Morelos and his troops evacuated the town, taking with them nearly its whole population: four thousand of the inhabitants, however, fell victims in the skirmishes which ensued, the retreat being

for some time harassed by Calleja. Morelos marched to Chilapa, which he took, and also Tehuacan, and Orizaba: on the 25th of November he made himself master of Antequera, and soon afterwards Acapulco surrendered to him.

About the end of 1812, Don J. M. A. Toledo raised a force in the patriot cause, and took San Antonio de Bejar, the capital of Texas, and obtained some other advantages, in conjunction with Don B. Gutierrez; but they were completely defeated early in 1813, by Don N. Arredondo, and their troops dispersed.

Morelos, after making an unsuccessful attack, in December 1813, upon Valladolid, was defeated on the 7th of January 1814, by Llano, at Puruaran, with the loss of seven hundred prisoners; who, as soon as they were taken, were executed by the royalists. Morelos, in consequence, by way

of retaliation, put to death five hundred royalist prisoners, who were then at Acapulco.

A Congress was assembled at Chilpansingo, which afterwards removed its sittings to Ohio, and subsequently to Apatzingan; and which, after declaring Mexico independent, formed a constitution, which was presented to the people on the 23d of October 1814.

Morelos was defeated by the royalists at Atacama, in October 1815, and being taken prisoner, was shot at the village of San Christobal, six leagues from Mexico. The Mexican Congress, then sitting at Tehuacan, endeavoured in vain to save his life, by making a strong representation, on the 17th of November 1815, to Calleja, who had succeeded as Viceroy.

Very soon afterwards, the patriots having disagreed amongst themselves, Don M. Teran

took advantage of their dissensions, and in the following December he dissolved the Congress by force, vesting the supreme authority in himself and two others. Their power, however, did not last long. Calleja was succeeded as Viceroy by Don Juan R. de Apodaca, who adopted a policy which, had it been generally acted upon by the authorities of the mother-country in Spanish America, might undoubtedly at different periods have been highly successful,—that of conciliation, instead of establishing a reign of terror; and the consequence was, that in Mexico the patriot cause lost ground. General Mina landed at Matagorda towards the latter end of 1816, and obtained for a time several advantages; but in 1819 the efforts of the patriots had become very feeble, and their hopes seemed to be nearly extinguished.

Apodaca, who still continued Viceroy, received orders, about the middle of 1820, to

proclaim the constitution, to which, in consequence of the new revolution that had taken place in Spain, Ferdinand the VIIth had been compelled to swear. This, however, was refused by the Viceroy; who, it was supposed, acted upon the authority of secret orders received from the King. The whole affair becoming generally known, the consequence was a great excitement of public opinion. Apodaca and some of the principal generals having determined to resist the establishment of the constitution, raised new levies of troops; and General Don N. Armigo, being well known to be attached to the constitutional cause, was dismissed from the command of the division stationed between Mexico and Acapulco, and Don Augustin Iturbidé was appointed to succeed him.

Iturbidé was a native of Mexico; but he was believed to be a steady adherent to the royal interest, and he had the implicit con-

fidence of the Viceroy. The opportunity, however, it seems had arrived, which Iturbidé had been looking for; and he, without delay, after taking possession of his command in February 1821, and also of five hundred thousand dollars, which he was directed to escort to Acapulco for embarkation, published a sort of manifesto on the 24th of February, proposing the establishment of a government independent of the mother-country. He was speedily joined by several of the most distinguished officers in the King's service; found himself at the head of a considerable army; and was in possession of the principal cities.

Apodaca, driven to extremity, abdicated his authority, or rather, was deposed by his remaining officers, and was succeeded by Field-marshal Noella; the latter, however, could do nothing, whilst Iturbidé enclosed, as it were, the capital with his forces. A new Viceroy now arrived from Spain, in the per-

son of General O'Donaju, who, considering the cause of the mother-country in Mexico to be hopeless, agreed, after some negotiation, to the treaty of Cordova, which was signed on the 24th of August 1821, and which acknowledged the independence of Mexico, by the name of the Mexican Empire; but stipulated, that the throne should be offered conditionally to Ferdinand VIIth, and on his refusal, successively to his brothers: it being, no doubt, anticipated at the time, by Iturbidé, that Ferdinand VIIth and his family would at once repudiate both the treaty and the conditional sovereignty.

In consequence of this treaty, and at the instance of O'Donaju, the capital was induced to surrender, and Iturbidé made his entry into Mexico on the 27th of September. O'Donaju soon afterwards died of the yellow fever. The Congress met on the 24th of February 1822. On the 18th of May,

official intelligence was received that the Cortes of Spain had declared the treaty of Cordova illegal, null, and void.

The army, whose determination was at the time sanctioned by the Congress, then elected Iturbidé Emperor, who ascended the throne, assuming the style of Augustin the First. The Congress, however, were not cordially united in his favour; and after several squabbles, he at length, on the 30th of October 1822, dissolved it by force, and formed a new assembly, called the Instituent Junta, composed of forty-five members of the Congress. An insurrection shortly afterwards broke out, headed by an officer named Santana, a strenuous republican; and the chiefs who took upon them its direction, having, in a document called the act of Casa Mata, published the 1st of February 1823, decided that the Congress should be again assembled, but proscribing certain members, and directing others to

be elected, whose opinions were more suitable to their views. Iturbidé, finding himself unable to resist the torrent, and not choosing to submit to the dictates of these chiefs, or, as he says in his pamphlet, since published, being anxious to prevent a civil war—reassembled the Congress; and abdicating the throne, requested and received permission to retire from the country. He was exiled to Italy, but subsequently came to England; and from hence sailed for Mexico, with the expectation, as supposed, of being again called to the throne. It appears, however, that his hopes were miserably disappointed; as, almost immediately upon his landing in Mexico, he was arrested, and three days afterwards shot, without any form of trial, his identification being considered sufficient, as the Congress had previously issued a decree, declaring him a rebel and an outlaw. He landed at Sota la Marina on the 16th of July 1824,

was arrested the same day, and having been conveyed to Padilla, he was there shot on the 19th.

Buenos-Ayres and the provinces of La Plata were tolerably tranquil, until 1820, and probably might have remained so, had it not been for that bane of the patriotic cause,—dissensions amongst the patriots themselves. The leading men in some of the provinces became jealous of the authority established at Buenos-Ayres, or were not satisfied with the constitution, and thus attempts were made to set up a variety of independent governments. The civil war which thus arose, so deeply to be deplored by the friends of humanity, was productive of many calamities. It is, of course, in a sketch like this, impossible to notice all the actions and skirmishes which took place in these contests; the advantages gained on either side, had necessarily upon

the country generally all the effect of defeats.

Between the troops of Buenos-Ayres, and those of Santa Fé, several actions were fought, in which the former had chiefly the advantage; the latter, under the command of Lopez, having received reinforcements, made an attack upon the town of San Nicholas, but which proved unsuccessful. A considerable body of Indians, who had been engaged by the authorities of Santa Fé, as auxiliaries, now deserted from the army, and returning to Santa Fé, which had been left unprotected, they committed the most dreadful outrages, plundering the inhabitants, and burning and destroying many of their houses. In the province, and even in the city of Buenos-Ayres, dissensions also raged with the most bitter animosity; several battles being fought between the contending parties at the expense of many lives

and much bloodshed. These last-mentioned contests appear to have been, in a great measure, caused by what has produced so many deadly feuds in other quarters of the world—the ambition of individuals, each aiming at the attainment and possession of power.

Previously to these events, a project had been conceived by the French government, of establishing an hereditary monarchy in the provinces of La Plata, which was to comprise not them alone, but those of Monte Video, the whole of the Banda Oriental, Entre Rios, Corrientes, and Paraguay, and to place a prince of the house of Bourbon upon the new throne; the powers of the monarch to be limited by a constitution. A proposition to this effect was made by the French minister for foreign affairs, to the government of Buenos-Ayres. This proposition was taken into consideration by the Congress, on the 12th of November 1819,

and was agreed to; but with a reservation, that it should not be carried into effect without the consent of the British government. Much discontent arose from the adoption of this project by the Congress, and that probably produced a state of feeling amongst the inhabitants of La Plata, which, in some measure, led the way to the unhappy dissensions already noticed. The project itself was afterwards altogether abandoned.

At Monte Video, where the Portuguese had continued to hold the ascendancy, an assembly of deputies met in July 1821, when it was determined, that that province should form a part of the Brazils.

Tranquillity was in a great degree restored at Buenos-Ayres, and in the provinces of La Plata, in 1821: Ramirez, who was in arms at Entre Rios, and had made an attempt upon Cordova; Guernes, who ruled in the province of Salta, and had commenced hostilities against the neighbouring

province of Tucuman; and Carrera, were put to death. A Congress was assembled at Cordova, and a constitution framed, better adapted than the former to the wants and wishes of the inhabitants.

In this section of Spanish America, little has since occurred worthy of particular notice.

I now return to New Grenada and Venezuela, forming at present the republic of Colombia, and to the untired and unabated exertions of Bolivar; who, whatever errors he may have committed in the earlier part of his career, has proved himself a consistent patriot, and a most able and skilful general. Bolivar, who is descended from a family of distinction at Caraccas, was born there about the year 1785. Having been allowed to visit Europe, a permission which was formerly granted to very few natives of Spanish America, he finished his studies at Madrid, and then proceeded to Paris. After

travelling in France, he traversed England, Italy, and a part of Germany. He, in his twenty-third year, contemplated the establishment of the independence of his country, and all his studies and observations were directed to that object.

After marrying at Madrid the daughter of the Marquess of Ulstariz, he returned to Caraccas, where he arrived at the moment when the standard of independence had been raised; he, however, as already stated, disapproved of the system adopted by the Congress of Venezuela, and refused to join Don Lopez Mendez in his mission to England from the new government, with which he altogether declined having any connection.

Subsequently to the earthquake which destroyed the city of Caraccas, and in its effect the independent government of Venezuela, Bolivar seized the first opportunity of devoting himself to the service of his

country, and hastened to join Miranda. The fate of the latter has already been mentioned. Bolivar also was at first unfortunate; the details of his alternate successes and disasters have already been given up to the year 1817.

There is one anecdote, however, connected with this period, which has not been noticed. When Bolivar retired from Carthagena, at the time it was besieged by Morillo, he proceeded to Jamaica for the purpose of endeavouring to obtain whatever supplies were to be met with, in order to render every possible aid to the patriot cause. Some Spaniards who had taken up their residence in that island, and who equally hated and dreaded Bolivar, formed the horrible project of procuring his assassination. To effect this diabolical purpose, they bribed a negro, who was to watch his opportunity, and, stealing upon the patriot chief while he was asleep, to despatch him without any

noise. This wretch, under cover of the darkness of the night, entered the house where Bolivar had fixed his abode, and reaching his usual bed-room, he silently approached a hammock, and stabbed to the heart the individual lying there, who immediately expired. The unfortunate man, however, who was thus assassinated, proved to be, not Bolivar, but his private secretary; the former having, on that very morning, removed to another house. The murderer was almost immediately apprehended, and a few days afterwards hanged: he confessed having been bribed by some Spaniards to perpetrate the deed,—but through, as it appeared, the guarded manner in which they had communicated with him, he was unable to state their names; suspicion, however, rested upon some Spaniards who a few days previously had quitted the island. Bolivar, on hearing of the assassination of his secretary, exclaimed,

" The Spaniards by their crimes hasten the completion of our independence: the certainty of this is a consolation under my present heart-rending affliction."

This was not the only attempt to assassinate Bolivar. In one of the many skirmishes which he had with Morillo, each of them sustained so much loss, that they were both compelled to retire from the field. Bolivar, after the action, went unaccompanied to a small cottage in the neighbourhood. Morillo hearing of the circumstance, employed two persons to assassinate him, and planned a stratagem, with a view to the more easily effecting his horrid purpose. This abominable project, however, so utterly unworthy of the military character, was frustrated, in consequence of Bolivar's obtaining information of it. Upon this occasion Bolivar exclaimed, " It is in vain that the Spaniards seek my death, when God watches over my

life, in order to secure the liberty and independence of my beloved country."

There are also some other anecdotes of Bolivar, which are worth relating, and which have not hitherto been published.

At the battle of the Pantano de Bargas, Bolivar was the only individual who was conspicuously dressed; he wore during the whole action a large scarlet cloak, similar to that used by our life-guards.

At Boyacá, he was dressed in a jacket and pantaloons of scarlet and gold. After the enemy were beaten out of the field, he followed them with a squadron of cavalry and some infantry, to Ventequemada, four leagues from the scene of action, himself being constantly foremost, with a trumpeter by his side, whom he frequently ordered to sound the advance. He by this means took a number of prisoners, and on his arrival at Ventequemada, found himself attended

by only seven lancers, the rest having gone back with prisoners. At this place, he slept at one end of a counter, whilst his horse was eating maize at the other. He often laughingly said, that he owed the fruits of this victory to the sounding of the trumpet.

Colonel Rocke, an Englishman, having been one night robbed of all his baggage in the plains of the Apure, complained of it to Bolivar, who, unable to recover what had been lost, divided his own stock with him, giving him two pair of trowsers and two shirts; Bolivar himself having only four of each.

Colonel Mackintosh, an officer who highly distinguished himself in the Colombian service, relates the following: "On the expedition to New Grenada, in 1819, we had a number of rapid mountain-torrents to pass: in order to cross those which were not fordable, we dragged along two small canoes, fastened to the tails of horses, by means of

which we were sometimes enabled to make a bridge; at other times they were used to carry over the troops, arms, &c., whilst those soldiers who had learnt the art of swimming, swam through the water. Upon all these occasions, Bolivar was very active, himself setting the example of labour, and frequently working harder than any common soldier. On passing rapid rivers where there were fords, he was constantly to be seen assisting the men over, to prevent their being carried away by the force of the torrent; and carrying on his own horse ammunition, arms, and pouches. Whenever, in short, there was any obstacle to be overcome, he was constantly on the spot, both directing others, and affording the example of his own personal exertions, which always had the desired effect."

Bolivar is a good swimmer, an elegant dancer, and fond of music: he is a very pleasant companion at table; neither smokes

nor takes snuff, nor does he ever taste spirits.

He endeavours to check the flattery with which he is not unfrequently assailed. At a ball which he gave, a lady rendered herself very conspicuous by loading him with obsequious and importunately fulsome adulation. Bolivar at length said to her, in a mild but firm tone: "Madam, I had previously been informed of your character, and now I perceive it myself. Believe me, a servile spirit recommends itself to no one, and in a lady is highly to be despised."

The following affords some highly characteristic traits:—"At a magnificent public dinner given to Bolivar at Bogotá, one of the company, when called upon for a toast, gave—'Should at any time a monarchical government be established in Colombia, may the liberator, Simon Bolivar, be the Emperor.'" A high-spirited public character, Señor Pépe Paris, then requested

permission to give a toast, which being acceded to, he filled his glass, and exclaiming—" Should Bolivar, at any future period, allow himself to be declared Emperor, may his blood flow from his heart in the same manner as the wine now does from my glass,"—he poured the wine out of his glass upon the floor. Bolivar immediately sprang from his chair, ran to Señor Paris, and most warmly embracing him, exclaimed, " If such feelings as those declared by this honourable man shall always animate the breasts of the sons of Colombia, her liberty and independence can never be in danger."

Before the fall of Angostura into the hands of the patriots in 1817, the supreme chief, Bolivar, wrote to his agent in London, Don Luis Lopez Mendez, that he understood, besides a considerable amount in money, there were great stores, particularly of Varinas tobacco, in that place, which must fall inevitably into his hands

in a very short time—when he should be enabled to pay for arms, ammunition, and ships, of which he was in extreme want, and for which he desired him, if possible, to contract; as also to send out volunteers, if he should find the cause popular in England, as he expected to be placed in a situation to provide for all with the taking of Angostura. This intimation I believe to have been the first inducement to Mendez to offer commissions in the Venezuelan service to such adventurers as could satisfactorily prove that they had held equal rank in any other service, except that of Spain.

How this agent was imposed upon by many, is not my province to state, nor to relate how all parties were deceived, or rather undeceived, and consequently disappointed on their arrival in this land of promise, where they found Bolivar had lost at the battle of Samen almost every thing but his life, and his unconquerable

spirit: nor can I possibly in any other way account for the non-fulfilment of contracts by the government of Angostura, than by supposing that the ardent imagination of the supreme chief had magnified this said Angostura into a second "El Dorado;" or that the activity of the Spanish merchants, in taking advantage of the numerous opportunities which must have offered, of removing their property previously to the place falling into his hands, had deprived him of the means of which he had promised to possess himself, leaving little else but the bare walls to the victor: not forgetting that it was surrendered into the hands of a needy and half-famished army and marine, who were little likely to give an exact account to the government of all that fell into their hands. Be it as it may, I cannot for an instant believe that it arose out of duplicity or bad faith on the part of either the supreme chief or his agent; suffice it to say,

that legions were in consequence formed, and contracts were made for all sorts of warlike equipments and stores, by enterprising capitalists of Great Britain, and all forwarded to the land of promise.

I will not attempt to give an account of the merchants who have been ruined, of some hundreds of adventurers who ingloriously lost their lives by sickness, or of those, still more numerous, who took the panic, and saved themselves by flight: of all this the public have been informed by pamphlets and books from various of the surviving sufferers, written at the time, and of course bearing the stamp of their irritated feelings; and it may here be observed, as one proof of all those who returned not having done so for want of courage, that Langan the pugilist was one of the seceders from the Irish Legion. It must be confessed, that at the time he retired, there was no great chance of *prize-money*. But

having shewn how this field for adventure was first opened to my countrymen, I wish, as briefly as possible, to relate how far they have been successful in their endeavours to assist in liberating that interesting portion of the world. Two distinct legions were formed,—the one in England, under General English, and the other in Ireland, under General D'Evereux,* besides several other independent corps; some Lancers, others Hussars, others Rifles, &c. &c.; in short, fine names, and, still more, fine uniforms, brought numerous fine-looking recruits: the men composing all these different legions

* There was something chivalrous in General D'Evereux joining the cause at that time. He had been called on by Bolivar to fulfil a promise made in 1815, when they met at Carthagena, at which time Bolivar recommended his deferring his noble and generous intentions of serving the patriots, until affairs should wear a brighter aspect. To the glory of General D. he redeemed his pledge on the first call, and befriended the cause of liberty.

and corps cannot be estimated at less than from four thousand to four thousand five hundred.

The British legion arrived at Margarita, and together with a part of the rifle corps of Colonel Uslar, formed an expedition against Barcelona and Cumana; but were not so entirely successful as they had a right to expect, owing to some misunderstanding between the naval and military commanders. The Irish legion also arrived at Margarita, and at a time when every sort of provision was very scarce; in consequence of which, and through disappointment, many died, and many returned to their native country, or went to the islands to seek employment; the remainder passed to Rio de la Hacha, where they were very useful in carrying on the siege of Carthagena, and drawing the attention of Morillo from Bolivar, who was operating in the kingdom of New Grenada; and afterwards were united with the British

legion, under Colonel Thomas Ferrier, when the two legions, thus united, had the glory to give the decisive turn to the action of Carabobo; in testimony of which conduct, the united legions now bear the name of the Regiment Carabobo, given to them by Bolivar himself on the field of battle. Colonel Thomas Ferrier fell with the colours in his hand at the head of his legion, leading them to the charge: he was honoured by a public funeral, at which General Bolivar and all the distinguished officers in the camp attended.

I cannot take leave of the Irish legion without mentioning one of its most distinguished officers, Colonel Lyster, who was employed in the province of Coró, and there underwent the greatest privations. In one of the various actions in which he was engaged, a patriot colonel rashly charged the enemy's line of cavalry alone, and got into their rear, where he would have been killed, or taken prisoner, had not Colonel Lyster

dashed through the same line after him, when they both most gallantly cut their way through the enemy, and rejoined their own party in safety.

Amongst the independent corps, we must notice the first battalion of rifles, which, although it was composed entirely of native troops, was officered by Britons; the men having originally been raised among the Indian inhabitants of the missions on the banks of the river Orinoco, below Angostura, and who were almost wild, although they had been converted to Christianity. The origin of this corps is the more particularly mentioned, as it has ever been greatly distinguished since its formation, and is at present with the Liberator in Peru, under Colonel Arthur Sandes, one of the officers who materially assisted in its first formation in the missions of Caroni in 1818. Four hundred of these Indians (few speaking even the Spanish language) were formed

into a battalion, and disciplined ready to take the field in the short space of four months, by Colonel Pigot. This meritorious officer, after having had a horse shot under him at Legamarra, in the plains of Apuré, through ill health, was obliged to resign the command to Major Arthur Sandes, who remained at its head during the arduous campaign of 1819,—had his horse shot under him, and was himself wounded in the foot, while leading it to victory in the action of Pantano de Bargas. At Santa Martha, Carabobo, and Bombona, Lieutenant-colonel Sandes's conduct was highly eulogized by the Liberator; in fact, his is what may be called the crack regiment of the guard, and its commander most justly one of the greatest favourites of Bolivar.

We now come to the second battalion of rifles, composed entirely of British and Germans, raised in London, agreeably to a contract with Captain Elsom, and originally in-

tended to have been commanded by Colonel Uslar: four companies of this corps, however, having arrived at Angostura in the beginning of the year 1819, and just previously to the opening of the campaign on the Lower Apuré, were, in consequence of the non-arrival of the commandant with the remainder, intrusted to the command of Major Mackintosh, and brigaded with the first rifles, the whole being under the command of Colonel Pigot during his stay with the army. In giving an account of this battalion, we shall enter more minutely into the sufferings and privations necessarily to be endured by soldiers on campaign in that country, and more particularly as it made the campaign of 1819 against New Grenada. Although there were many old soldiers in this corps, there were still more recruits; and even the oldest soldiers might be heard to complain of the hard fare of the new service into which they had entered, although

not in such bitter terms as their less experienced comrades; for in one fortnight after leaving the luxuries of a well-found transport, they were in the midst of almost boundless plains, amongst a set of people who looked more like savages (having nothing in common with themselves but the human form, neither manners, customs, language, nor even colour,) than a disciplined army, such as they had been accustomed to see, and which they had, whilst on board, so often described to their younger companions. This extraordinary group were encamped, but there were no white tents to be seen in long regular lines of streets,—theirs was the bivouac of savages; the arms were piled in the front of a wood, and bushed to prevent the sun's intense heat from cracking their butts; the officers were lounging or sleeping in their hammocks slung between two trees, whilst the almost naked soldiers were lying sleeping, singing, gam-

bling, or cooking under the shade of the trees.

They were soon made to know that their rations, although plentiful, were confined to only one article, three pounds of beef,—without a grain of salt, a bit of bread, or any thing in the shape of, or an apology for, vegetable; for drink, as much water as they chose to be at the trouble of fetching. Money they found to be perfectly useless, as there were no sutlers, or followers of the camp, except some unfortunate emigrants, dependent on the charity of the soldiery for their precarious subsistence. Little pleasure was to be found, in this new service, for the lover of order, and much less for the lover of comfort. The old soldiers discovered that all their experience was of little use, every thing here being to them quite novel; the young ones were quite dismayed; some at first turned their thoughts to desertion, but a moment's reflection convinced them

of the impossibility: how could this be effected without guides? how could they traverse those immense plains? and how explain themselves? how exist?—they were sure to perish in the midst of plenty, for although surrounded by wild cattle, they were totally ignorant of the method of catching them.

Morillo having crossed the rivers Apuré and Arauca, at the head of four thousand infantry and nearly two thousand cavalry, with artillery, in search of the patriots, whose force did not exceed two thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, with four pieces of artillery, the campaign opened; but Morillo shewed a great timidity as to meeting his opponents in the larger plains, where their cavalry (on which they chiefly depended) could act to the greatest advantage. And the patriots, on the other hand, fearing the overwhelming number and superior discipline of the enemy's infantry,

were as little anxious to risk a battle in the lesser plains, where he could take advantage of the woods to protect his infantry from the attacks of the patriot cavalry. So that after marching and countermarching for some time, (these marches often commencing before daylight and continuing long after dark, in order to reach wood and water for the purpose of cooking; and during them, it was not an uncommon occurrence to see two or three soldiers lying dead at the edge of the small pools of muddy water, filled with alligators and snakes, out of which they had drunk too incautiously,) it was found that dysentery had made great inroads into the health of the British, from a constant use of beef without salt: fifty being reported entirely unable to proceed, were mounted and sent to a miserable place in the rear, where they almost all died, several others daily fell sick, and it was necessary to mount them also: they soon ap-

peared more like a field hospital than a battalion fit for duty in front of an enemy, and served only as a laughing stock and ridicule for the other troops, who were inured to the climate and bad fare. Three or four months were spent in this disagreeable mode of campaigning; when the British began to think that their companions were all cowards, and sought any thing rather than to meet the enemy, of which themselves were so desirous, ardently wishing for an opportunity either to die gloriously, and end their present sufferings, or change their condition by beating their adversaries, and possessing themselves of their resources. However, they were soon undeceived as to the courage of the patriots, by one of those masterly achievements, for which General Paez has made himself so celebrated. Finding that his troops, like the British, were getting dissatisfied with this mode of warfare, which the Supreme Chief through necessity had

been obliged to adopt, and fearing their desertion, as they were composed of the natives of these very plains, he determined on seizing the first opportunity of calling them into action, which soon happened.

Morillo being encamped in the skirts of a wood, on a small plain on one side of the river Arauca, the patriots on a large one on the other, Paez, selecting one hundred and fifty men who were expert swimmers, crossed the river at their head, making the enemy turn out, and form his whole force in order of battle, about a mile from the bank of the river. Paez advanced slowly towards them as if he had not perceived them, until he came within range of the musquet-shot which they fired at him, when he went about with his little band as if panic-struck, and made for the river,—a considerable body of the enemy's cavalry following him. Having drawn them well away from the reach of the fire of the infantry, and nearing the river,

he turned with his companions, and made a desperate charge upon his pursuers, whom he drove back among their own infantry; and again retired over the river, leaving seventy of the enemy dead on the field, before they could get their light infantry out to attack him;—himself only losing one captain, whom he brought over the river to die among his comrades. For this gallant action the one hundred and fifty followers of Paez received the order of Liberators of Venezuela. This triumph had a doubly good effect, by cheering up the spirits of the little army of patriots, and convincing Morillo that he was in a very disagreeable neighbourhood; he, finding he could not bring them to action in his own ground, and that the wet season was about setting in, determined on moving his army to the other side of the river Apuré, into winter-quarters, and by that means to avoid the disagreeable visits of Señor Paez. It was also thought in the patriot army

that they would be allowed to seek repose in some of the small villages of the plains during the wet season; but not so,—its skilful commander had lulled, if not to sleep, at least into inactivity, his gigantic opponent, and it was now time to take advantage of this circumstance; and well knowing that an army neither paid, clothed, nor fed, and already dispirited, could not be held together should it remain inactive during the wet season, he wisely thought that this was the moment to carry into effect that which he had so long contemplated. He boldly resolved to make a desperate dash at the kingdom of New Grenada, and by that means place himself in the centre of those resources of which he found himself so entirely destitute.

To effect this, it was first necessary to form a junction with the corps of General Santander, who had been sent into the plains of Casanare to keep in check the

army of the kingdom, in case it should meditate a descent into those plains, and with the further object of preparing the New Grenadians for the reception of their liberators; and by making incursions into the kingdom, to gain a practical knowledge of the country, and of the feeling of its inhabitants towards the patriots,—besides making preparations for the passage of the army over those mountains which divide Casanare from the kingdom. General Santander having reported most favourably on all these points, General Bolivar left General Paez, with the greater part of his cavalry and all the artillery, with orders to watch and occasionally to visit the enemy's lines, and proceeded to join General Santander's division, of from three to four hundred men, at a small village in the last-mentioned plains. After having collected together a large number of cattle, and about five thousand horses and mules,

the army commenced the passage of these stupendous mountains by a road little frequented, on account of its being circuitous, and excessively bad. This force did not exceed fifteen hundred men, included in which, one hundred and fifty British were all that could be mustered capable of undertaking this march, out of the three hundred and fifty, of which the battalion was composed on its first arrival,—some few having dropped down dead on the line of march from mere exhaustion, and others having been rendered unserviceable by the bite of a fish called the carib, or raya, which tears off one or two pounds of the fleshy part of the thighs or calves of the legs of the soldiers, as they wade through the rivers in the plains; the army had upwards of a hundred men thus disabled in passing one very inconsiderable stream in which these fish abounded. Some were unable to proceed from enormous ulcers,

which had carried away some of their toes, and which threatened others with the total loss of feet, or legs. These ulcers were brought on by general debility of body, from bad food, from jiggers, from having to march barefooted sometimes whole days together, over plains covered with the sensitive plant, the thorns of which buried themselves in the soles of their feet; or from the feet and legs, after wading rivers, being exposed wet to the scorching heat of the sun. These persons were obliged to be left in the small villages through which the army occasionally passed. All were now barefooted, and almost naked, for few had more than a jacket and cap, and many were entirely without blankets; as they had, during the time the dysentery was upon them, either thrown away, or bartered for a little tobacco or perhaps water, all their spare necessaries, or had been robbed of them by their expert and necessitous companions. Thus, in four

months were these poor fellows reduced almost to the last state of misery, without even the consolation of having been of service to those whom they came to assist, not having as yet met the enemy; but, on the contrary, being despised and detested by their companions in arms as a useless burthen, or, as they expressed themselves, not worth the meat they consumed.

But the cup of misery was not yet full; two-thirds of these last-named unfortunates were still doomed to witness the other third perish on one day's march, not in the field of honour, for which they had so long and so ardently wished, and even prayed, but like frantic maniacs, on the summit of the Andes, on what is called by the natives the Paramo of Chisba. On this Paramo the air is so exceedingly rarified, that it is very difficult to breathe, and those who are affected by it (or *emparamados*) become benumbed, froth at the mouth, and lose their

senses, tear out their hair, and bereft of every sense of feeling by degrees, ultimately die. The natives recommend eating sugar and drinking water in preference to spirits, on passing these places; and flagellation to those who shew symptoms of being affected, not letting them stop for an instant. Ignorant at the time of these remedies, and all, except the flagellation, being out of their power, fifty Englishmen, and two officers and upwards of a hundred of the native troops, fell sacrifices, without the possibility of assistance being given to them. Out of five thousand horses and mules, there did not remain enough to transport the ammunition; which was obliged to be carried on the backs of Indians, natives of villages on either side the Paramo, who through custom were able to carry on their backs or heads, one hundred and fifty pounds weight, over these bad roads. The roads, (if the beds of small mountain streams or deep mo-

rasses may be so termed, for these were no other,) for several days before the army arrived at the Paramo, were literally strewed with, and in some places impeded by, dead, dying, tired, broken-backed, or broken-legged horses and mules, besides saddles, bridles, baggage, &c.; some of these poor animals, having fallen alive down precipices, at the bottom of which there was neither food nor water, must have been starved to death. In short, the army appeared more like one flying, anxious only to preserve life, from a victorious and cruel enemy, than one on its march to attack more than three times its own number of well-disciplined and appointed troops.

Forty-three days had been spent in this wretched and harassing manner, under incessant rain, in passing those mountains, when they (being in all about nine hundred infantry and two hundred dismounted cavalry,) at length entered the kingdom of New Grenada, where they found the enemy was

preparing to receive them with three thousand infantry, six hundred cavalry, and two pieces of artillery; for at last he had been convinced that this miserable force had really come with the intention of invading his territory; and it must have been Divine Providence that kept him incredulous so long, for had he placed but a small part of his force at the foot of the Paramo, the patriots must have fallen an easy prey, as many, particularly the British, were obliged to leave their musquets to be brought in by the Indians, in order to save their lives. But how is it possible to describe the joy of these poor wretches on leaving the horrible mountains, and on entering the beautiful and fertile valleys of the province of Tunja. The very climate was changed, and had become an agreeable medium between the intense heat of the plains, and the bitter cold of the mountains. It had also ceased to rain. On every side, as they descended the

last mountains, were to be seen little villages, with their corn-fields, potatoe-fields, &c.;—it was, in fact, to them an entrance into an earthly paradise; at every turn of the road they were met by the inhabitants bringing all sorts of clothing and provisions, and that which they could afford, for the use of their deliverers, as they called them. With such a reception, and such assistance, they were not long in recruiting both in health and spirits.

The first rencounter (in which the English had no part) of these two opposing armies occurred at Gameza, but nothing decisive took place; as the patriots found the enemy to be in too strong a position to be forced. Now somewhat refreshed, the English, amounting to only ninety, found themselves, for the first time (in this country at least), on the 25th of July 1819, in order of battle, before their long sought enemy; it was the day of the patron saint of

Spain, and was Bolivar's birth-day. The action commenced by the enemy throwing out his light troops to threaten the right flank of the patriots, which was protected by a morass; whilst he made, with one battalion, a successful attack on their extreme left, situated on a rising ground which commanded the whole position, and which was occupied by General Santander's division. In the centre, on a small plain, were the English, some native battalions, and about eighty of the cavalry mounted on horses, mules, and asses—some with saddles, without bridles, and *vice versa*, and others without either. The enemy, having easily turned the left wing, advanced to attack the patriots' centre: in the mean time the English were ordered to dislodge the enemy from the height of which he had possessed himself, which they immediately moved to do, under the command of Colonel James Rooke, who was almost instantaneously wounded, and suc-

ceeded in the command by Major Mackintosh. They drove the enemy from his position, but falling short of ammunition, and the enemy being reinforced by another battalion, the British, having made repeated attempts to use the bayonet, but unavailing on account of the trees, brushwood, and rocks, were obliged to retire, in order to furnish themselves with ammunition. By this time the enemy, although he had succeeded at first in beating back the infantry of the centre, was himself repulsed with considerable loss, by the small body of mounted cavalry, under Colonel Rondon, which made a most gallant charge, and re-established this part of the line. Meanwhile, the two battalions of the enemy on the heights had nearly succeeded in surrounding, and cutting off the communication of the patriots with their rear; when the British, supported by the bravoes of Paez, once more advanced up the hill, and forced the enemy entirely off

the height, which he only ceded inch by inch, and consequently suffered most considerably; this was just at night-fall, which prevented the patriots taking advantage of the confusion in the enemy's lines: thus ended a glorious and hard-contested day.

For what they fought, may be conceived from the fact, that fourteen patriots being taken prisoners at Gameza, having been placed back to back, were bayonetted in cool blood; and the commanding general said, on being taken prisoner at Boyacá, that it was the order of the Viceroy, Samano, to serve all so who fell into their hands: none could possibly have escaped had the action been lost at Pantano de Bargos. The British battalion lost, in killed and wounded, thirty, including Lieutenant Kaisley, killed; and Colonel Rooke and Lieutenant M'Manus, wounded: Colonel Rooke's left arm was amputated, of which he afterwards died; he was a gallant officer,

and son of a British general officer,—had been aide-de-camp to the Prince of Orange at Waterloo, and since aide-de-camp to General Bolivar. The British received the thanks of the general-in-chief, in General Orders, the next day, and every individual, officer and soldier, was appointed a member of the Order of Liberators of Venezuela,—a distinguished mark of his high approbation of their conduct on that day. The honour of this victory might be divided between the cavalry and the English; and ever after this they were the greatest friends, promising to stand by each other in every extremity. How changed were things now! Even the general, Ansuartagui, who was often heard to say that they were not worth their meat, and that he was sure they had not come there to fight, was obliged to confess (when asked during the action, by one of their countrymen (Dr. Foley), what he thought the British worth,) that they

were worth their weight in gold. It must be confessed, in justice to the general, that he was a brave man, and ever after conducted himself with kindness towards the British.

The patriots returned to their former encampment, and the enemy took up a still more formidable position on the main road, covering Santa Fé de Bogotá, but still in sight of his opponent. The time between the 25th of July and 7th of August was occupied by Bolivar in training a new levy of about five hundred men, which he had collected by the singular determination (as it was hazarding his popularity) of proclaiming martial law,—ordering every male capable of bearing arms to present himself and serve for thirty days. These were armed with lances, sticks, and old musquets, totally out of repair: they were found very active after the turn of the day in taking prisoners and collecting firelocks, &c. &c.

On the 7th of August, the British also took part in the glorious action of Boyacá, which had so happy a result. In this action Captain John Johnston, a most meritorious and brave officer, was wounded in the left arm, whilst leading his company to the charge, through which the battalion was deprived of his able services for some time. The result of this action was the possession of Santa Fé de Bogotá by the patriots. The general commanding the Spaniards, with forty-seven officers and about two thousand soldiers, were made prisoners, (the amount of the latter far exceeding the whole force of the patriots;) nearly three thousand five hundred stand of arms taken, &c. &c. The battalion now took the name of Albion, by order of Bolivar, and, being filled up by five hundred natives, marched to the south, and encountered three companies, composing the advanced guard of the Spaniards, at La Plata, on the 28th of April 1820, which were entirely

destroyed, seven only escaping to relate their misfortunes. In this affair the captain of the first company, Frederick Rush, killed eleven with his own hands. This battalion also had a share in a general action at Pitayo, under General Valdez, where a division of the enemy was also entirely routed, and either taken prisoners or destroyed; as also in an unfortunate affair at Enoi, the 2d of February 1821, which was only lost through the foolish eagerness of the commander to decide the victory by charging entrenchments with cavalry; in this action the commandant of the battalion, Lieutenant-Colonel Mackintosh, received a wound in the left hand, and some Englishmen fell into the hands of the enemy, and were inhumanly murdered in the square at Pasto, by being struck with axes on the back of their heads. The battalion afterwards proceeded by sea to Guayaquil, and shared in the action fought near that place by General

Suere, at Yaguachi; where a division of twelve hundred of the enemy were taken prisoners or killed. From thence to the action of Guachi, on the 12th of September 1821, where it suffered a complete rout, owing to the great superiority of the enemy in cavalry, and to the misunderstandings between the generals commanding, when most of the officers fell into the hands of the enemy, or were killed. Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston commanded it on this day, and Lieutenant-Colonel Mackintosh received a second wound in the same hand as before, at the head of another battalion. Owing to the regulation of the war, which had now taken place between Bolivar and Morillo, the lives of those taken were spared; some escaped, and others were exchanged.

In 1822, the battalion, being again recruited, marched for the third time against Quito, and had the glory of deciding the battle of Piechincha on the 24th May,

which gave liberty to that important department of Colombia; in this last action it was again commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Mackintosh. The few surviving officers, not exceeding five or six, and the men not exceeding thirty, having passed from one sea to the other, and assisted in the liberation of the whole of Colombia, petitioned the Liberator to be allowed to retire, few being without scars, and all bearing various decorations of honour, as testimonials of the services rendered to the state. This was readily granted, and pensions given to those who had suffered, either by wounds or in constitution; and thus this battalion ceased to exist as soon as Colombia was no longer in want of its services.

In justice to General Bolivar, it must be observed, that during the campaign of 1819, he did every thing in his power to alleviate the sufferings of the English; and the day

before they passed the Paramo of Pisba, he sent a colonel back (the native troops having passed some days previously) with alpargates and bread for their use. Whenever any of the officers fell sick, he invited them to his own mess, that they might share the little he had, which never exceeded that of the common soldier in more than a little broth (if a little rice in the water in which beef was boiled, without either seasoning or vegetables, can be so called); a piece of common sea biscuit, the size of a dollar, and a lump of brown sugar, one quarter that size, being given to each person. On their arrival in Santa Fé de Bogotá, he ordered them to be clothed immediately, and that they should ever after receive their full pay, although the rest of the army were receiving only half-pay; this could not at all times be carried into effect, but they never were again, as in 1819, entirely without pay. When in quarters, he had their

chiefs constantly at his table, and always took every opportunity of expressing his gratitude, and the high sense he had of the services of this corps.—Colonel Uslar having fallen into the hands of Morillo early in 1819, was kept prisoner by him, and compelled to clean the streets, &c. in chains, until the meeting of the two chiefs at St. Anna, to make an armistice, in 1821; when General Bolivar requested the release of this officer, as a personal favour from Morillo, which was granted, and the Liberator immediately placed him at the head of his regiment of grenadiers of the guard, which command he still holds.

The British had become at length such good marchers, that they always formed the advanced-guard of the army, being now complained of as marching too fast, instead of too slow as formerly. Such was the *esprit du corps*, that the very natives incorporated in this battalion thought themselves

above the other soldiers, and called themselves English, and swore in English by way of keeping up their title. On a march being ordered, all the sick who possibly could turned out of hospital: one old soldier, of the name of Slattery, having been with difficulty got over the Paramo near to Pitayo, remained two days and nights without tasting any food, or doing any duty; but hearing some firing, he asked what it was, and being informed that it was the enemy driving in the out-post, and about to attack the army, he jumped on his legs from the corner of a hovel, in which he was lying, exclaiming, "Then Slattery is well,"—formed with his company, and in a short time brought his prisoner in one hand, and his musquet and two doubloons in the other.

It must be added, to the honour of the patriots, that an officer of this battalion, who was taken prisoner at Guachi, and conducted to Quito, wounded, and afflicted with

the ague, was taken from his prison by one of its inhabitants (José Alvarez), pledging his life and property as security for his safety, in order that he might recover his health; and that this was granted by the inexorable tyrant, General Melchor Aymeric, only with the hope of having an excuse for taking away the life and considerable property of this virtuous and patriotic individual; but being disappointed, the prisoner was again sent back to his dungeon, and effected his escape by the assistance of Vincente Aguire (another noble example of patriotic virtue), who had furnished upwards of two hundred persons besides with the means of flight.

In 1819, tobacco was the greatest luxury which the British could procure, and this at an enormous sacrifice of their clothes, as it was very scarce, and could not be had for money; the possessors saying they could neither eat nor wear silver or gold. The

greatest test of friendship at this time was to be allowed one or two whiffs of a comrade's pipe.

Returning to the events of the war:—in 1817, nearly the whole of New Grenada was in the possession of the Spaniards. Towards the close of that year, Bolivar, having been nominated supreme director of Venezuela, established his head-quarters at Angostura. On the 31st of December, he marched with two thousand cavalry and two thousand five hundred infantry; ascended the Orinoco, was joined on his way by Generals Cedeno and Paez, and in forty-two days he was before the ramparts of Calabozo, three hundred leagues from Angostura.

Morillo was then at Calabozo; but after a battle, or rather three actions, fought on the 12th, 13th, and 14th of February 1818, was compelled to abandon the place. Bolivar pursued him, and defeating him again on the 16th and 17th at Sombrero, Morillo

was forced to retreat to Valencia. Bolivar, in consequence of the exhaustion of his own troops, was compelled to discontinue the pursuit; but he detached Cedeno and Paez to take possession of San Fernando de Apuré. He thus, however, weakened the main body of his army, reducing it to twelve hundred cavalry and about five hundred infantry. Morillo, seizing the opportunity, suddenly attacked him on his advance to San Vittoria; a series of actions ensued, from the 13th to the 17th of March, at La Cabrera, Maracay, and La Puerta, in one of which Morillo was wounded. Cedeno and Paez, the latter of whom had received reinforcements from England, at length rejoined Bolivar, who, on the 26th, becoming the assailant, attacked and carried the Spanish position on the heights of Ortiz, which was defended by La Torre; but the enemy in his retreat recaptured Calabozo on the 30th.

Morillo having recovered from the effects of his wound, and collected together his troops, gave battle to Paez in the plains of Cojedos: both parties claimed the victory, and both were nearly equally disabled. Previously to this battle, Bolivar was on the 17th of April surprised at San Jose by one of his own officers, a Colonel Lopez, and narrowly escaped being delivered up to the Spaniards:—Lopez, with twelve men, made his way to where the General was reposing; and Bolivar had but just time to get away, nearly naked.

Calabozo was not long in the possession of the royalists: a detachment sent out from thence having been defeated, with the loss of three hundred men killed or taken, Morales, who commanded there, was obliged to evacuate the place.

In the mean time the patriot General Nariño had taken Cariaco; and Admiral Brion, after having dispersed the Spanish flotilla,

and captured some vessels laden with ten thousand musquets, artillery, and stores, took Guiria by surprise on the 24th of July.

A division of Paez's army, under the command of Colonel Peña, having defeated a body of royalists near Coro, Morillo found it necessary to remove his head-quarters from Valencia to San Carlos. Paez obtained possession of the whole province of Varinas, and all the lower plains of Caraccas; Calzada, the royalist general, retiring to Guanare with one thousand three hundred men.

Bolivar, who had returned to Angostura, set out again in October to join the army, having appointed a council of government to act during his absence, and issued writs for assembling a Congress. Nariño, however, having been defeated at Cumana, Bolivar again returned to Angostura on the 20th of November, having been obliged by that event to change his plans. He again

set off in order to join the division of Paez. Nothing, however, of any importance occurred during two or three months, except that Cedeño dislodged the royalists from Torralva.

Bolivar, on the 15th of February 1819, presided at the opening of the Congress of Venezuela at Angostura, where he urged the union of New Grenada and Venezuela under one constitution and government, (which has since taken place,) and resigned his supreme authority, but retained the command of the army, which had concentrated itself on the banks of the Apuré. Morillo, having formed a junction between his own forces and those of La Torre, Morales, and Calzada, crossed the Apuré. Bolivar, in order to draw the enemy into the interior, retired behind the Arauco. Morillo, unable to obtain subsistence for his troops, and losing six hundred men, whom he sent out to procure provisions, and several other de-

tachments, all of whom were cut off by Paez, was under the necessity of commencing his retreat, and he encamped at Achaguas, an island formed by the Apuré. A body of troops, however, on their way from Bogotá to join him, having been defeated by Santander, Morillo was compelled to quit Achaguas, and retreat to San Carlos, whilst Santander advanced to Tunja.

Morillo then despatched one thousand five hundred of his best troops, under the command of Colonel Arana, with orders to take and destroy Angostura. Nariño, however, marched at the head of one thousand three hundred men, for the purpose of protecting the city; and he completely defeated the royalists, who lost one thousand men, killed, wounded, and prisoners. A royalist force of six hundred men, proceeding to join Arana, was shortly afterwards defeated by Bermudez. The squadron under Brion left Margarita on the 14th of July, having on board

the division of General English, and three hundred troops, natives of Margarita, and succeeded in taking Barcelona.

In May, Bolivar quitted Angostura to proceed to New Grenada, and effected a junction with Santander on the 15th of June, after being reinforced by English troops. He then commenced a fatiguing march across the Cordilleras, and on the 25th of July, obtained a signal victory over the royalists near Tunja; the latter lost five hundred men, killed and wounded, besides a great number of prisoners, their military chest, and a quantity of ammunition.

On the 8th of August, Bolivar gained the battle of Boyacá, in which the royalists were totally defeated, losing two thousand men, killed, wounded, and prisoners, including many officers, with a great quantity of arms and ammunition. This victory decided the fate of the royal authority in New Grenada: the Viceroy, Samana, fled from the capital,

with all the officers of the government, and Bolivar, on the 10th of August, triumphantly entered Bogotá.

In the mean time Paez, who was left in Venezuela, defeated a body of royalists, on the 20th of July, at La Cruz.

General Auzuategui pursued the royalists who had escaped from the field of Boyacá, and who had fled from Bogotá, as far as Nare, on the banks of the river of the same name; and Colonel Plaza was despatched in pursuit of Calzada, who had retreated towards Popayan. The provinces of Neyva and Maraquita again declared for the patriots, as did also Antioquia and Popayan.

Nearly the whole of New Grenada was now in the power of the patriots; and on the 17th of December 1819, Bolivar having returned, amidst the joyous acclamations of his fellow-countrymen, to Venezuela, the dearest wish of his heart was gratified, by its being decreed that New Grenada and

Venezuela should form one undivided commonwealth, under the title of the Republic of Colombia. A new city, bearing the name of Bolivar, was ordered to be constructed, and to be the capital of the new republic; and the general Congress of Colombia was directed to assemble at Cucuta on the 1st of January 1821.

Bolivar again left Angostura on the 24th of December, in order to finish the great work of entirely emancipating Colombia. The army of the east, under the command of Arismendi and Bermudez, marched to Calabozo, to effect a junction with Bolivar and Paez, the latter having been also joined in November by the division of Soublette.

Early in 1820, a proclamation was addressed by Ferdinand the VIIth to his Spanish American subjects; and, soon after its arrival in America, Morillo sent a letter, on the 17th of June, to the Congress assembled at Angostura, proposing a reconciliation.

The Congress, however, and Bolivar insisted upon an acknowledgment of the independence of Colombia; and after some further correspondence, the commissioners sent by Spain, having no power to treat upon that basis, were not received.

Hostilities in the mean time went on: Colonel Montilla and Admiral Brion attacked and captured Savenilla, a port at the western mouth of the Magdalena,—in consequence of which the whole country in that quarter declared for the patriots; and Massa, a partisan officer, having descended the Magdalena from Bogotá, with a body of volunteers in eight canoes, captured fourteen Spanish gun-boats at Teneriffe. The whole course of the Magdalena, from Bogotá to Savanilla, was now opened to the patriots; Carthagena alone remaining in the possession of the Spaniards, and which was invested by Montilla and Garcia.

Bolivar, having given up his project of

attacking the Spanish lines, concluded, at Cúcuta, an armistice for a month with La Torre, who proposed it on the part of Morillo, with the view of preparing for a lasting accommodation;—but it was distinctly stated by Bolivar, that no terms could be listened to, unless the republic of Colombia were acknowledged as a free, sovereign, and independent state.

This armistice however expired; and the expedition to Santa Martha having sailed, Fort Cienega, on the Magdalena, was taken by storm on the 11th of October; six hundred and ninety of the royalists being killed; and the next day Santa Martha surrendered to Admiral Brion. The patriots now received accessions from every quarter: the battalion of La Reina passed over to them on the banks of the Tuy; Navarro, the commandant of the militia in the adjacent towns, joined them with the greatest part of his force; the canton of Guaca, and

the town of Canagua, hoisted the Colombian standard; and three hundred cavalry having deserted to them from the army of La Torre,—he, to prevent the defection of a greater number, found himself compelled to retire to Caraccas.

Another armistice, for six months, was agreed upon between Bolivar and Morillo on the 25th of November,—it being understood that deputies on both sides were to proceed to Spain, with a view to a final arrangement. The most important feature in this treaty, or agreement, which otherwise led to nothing, was the stipulation,—that in the event of the renewal of hostilities, the warfare should be regulated "in conformity with the rights of man, and the most generous, wise, and humane practices among civilized nations." Some remarkable circumstances also attended the conclusion of this armistice: Generals Bolivar and Morillo embraced each other, passed a day

together in the most friendly manner, and afterwards slept in the same room.

Morillo shortly afterwards sailed for Spain in the corvette Descubierta, accompanied by the two Colombian deputies, or commissioners, who had been appointed by the republic to arrange matters with the Cortes.

The meeting of the general Congress of Colombia, which was to have taken place at Cucuta on the 1st of January 1821, was, in consequence of the delays which occurred in assembling the deputies, postponed till the 1st of May.

The province of Cuenca declared its independence in January 1821, as did soon afterwards the districts of Ilambato, Rio Camba, and Quaronda; and the republic of Colombia received the accession of the province of Rio de la Hacha.

In reply to a letter of Bolivar, dated the 10th of March 1821, stating the necessity for recommencing hostilities, unless the Spanish government acceded to his just and

reasonable demands, La Torre, who had succeeded Morillo as Spanish commander-in-chief, stated, that in conformity with the twelfth article of the armistice, hostilities would recommence on the 28th of April.

Morales and La Torre collected all their forces, and concentrated them about Valencia and Calabozo, leaving Caraccas unprotected, which was in consequence, after some parley, taken possession of by Bermudez on the 15th of May; but the patriots were driven out again on the 25th of the same month by the royalists, under the command of Morales, who then proceeded to Valencia to join La Torre, leaving Colonel Pereira, with fifteen hundred men, to protect Caraccas.

Bolivar and Paez effected a junction in Varinas, and proceeded towards Valencia. On the 24th of June the battle of Carabobo was fought, in which the royalists were completely defeated, and their army very nearly destroyed; and which, with regard to the independence of Colombia, may be

considered as decisive. The remnant of the royalist forces took refuge, after the battle, at Puerto Cabello.

Bolivar then turned his attention to Caraccas, whither he marched with four thousand men, and which place he entered by capitulation on the 4th of July. He also adopted measures to prevent the incursions of the enemy from Puerto Cabello.

On the 1st of October, this extraordinary man, on being called upon to take the oath as President of Colombia, addressed a letter to the President of the Congress, earnestly desiring to be excused from serving in that capacity; but he was over-ruled by them. On taking the oath, he delivered a speech, of which follows a curious sample:—"I am the son of war, the man whom battles have raised to the magistracy. Fortune has sustained me in this rank, and victory has confirmed it. But these titles are not those which are consecrated by justice, by the

welfare and wishes of the nation. The sword which has governed Colombia is not the balance of Astrea—it is the scourge of the Genius of Evil, which sometimes Heaven permits to descend to the earth for the punishment of tyrants and the admonition of the people. The sword will be of no use on the day of peace; and that shall be the last of my power, because that I have sworn it within myself—because there can be no republic when the people are not secure in the exercise of their own powers. A man like mé is a dangerous citizen in a popular government—is a direct menace to the national sovereignty. I wish to become a citizen, in order to be free, and that all may be so too. I prefer the title of Citizen to that of Liberator, because this emanates from war—that from the laws. Exchange, Sir, all my honours for that of a good citizen."

The Congress assembled at Cucuta on the 1st of May; Antonio Bariño, the Vice-presi-

dent of the republic, presiding at its opening. A plan of constitution was reported by the committee of legislation, on the 3d of July; and on the 30th of August the constitution itself was published.

Thus was constituted the republic of Colombia, which comprises the north-west section of the immense peninsula of South America, including the Isthmus of Panama;—bounded on the north by the Atlantic Ocean, on the south by Peru, on the east by the British possessions of Essequibo and the back settlements of Brazil, and on the west by the Pacific Ocean and the republic of Guatemala; having two thousand miles of sea-coast on the Atlantic, and one thousand two hundred on the Pacific,—containing a superficies of nine hundred thousand square miles, being of seven times greater extent than the British Isles; and comprising the following departments and provinces, viz. the department of Orinoco, containing the

provinces of Guayana, Cumana, Barcelona, and Margarita; the department of Venezuela, consisting of the provinces of Caraccas and Varinas; the department of Sulia, of the provinces of Coro, Truxillo, Merida, and Maracaybo; the department of Boyacá, of the provinces of Tunja, Soccoro, Pamplona, and Casanare; the department of Cundinamarca, (the name of New Grenada is now suppressed,) of the provinces of Bogotá, Antioquia, Mariquita, and Neyva; the department of Cauca, of the provinces of Popayan and Choco; the department of Magdalena, of the provinces of Carthagena, Santa Martha, and Rio de la Hacha: there are also the provinces, not classed into departments, of Quito, Quixos Mocas, Cuenca, Jaen, Mainas, Loja, Guayaquil, Panama, and Veragua; including altogether, about two years ago, a population of two million six hundred and forty-four thousand six hundred souls.

By a decree, dated the 8th of October, the

Congress directed its sittings to be transferred to Bogotá, reserving "for happier days to raise the city of Bolivar." On the 9th, Bolivar, who had been ultimately invested with the executive power, authorized, by a decree, Santander to exercise its functions during his own absence with the army. On the 14th the session of the Congress was closed.

A short time previously, Guayaquil had placed itself under the protection of the republic; and on the 15th of October, Cumana, which had so long held out, surrendered to General Bermudez; the garrison, consisting of one thousand five hundred men, being shipped off for Puerto Rico. On the 28th of November, the whole of the Isthmus of Darien, or, as it is now called, the Isthmus of Panama, declared its independence, and soon afterwards became a part of the republic of Colombia.

In Quito, hostilities recommenced on the 22d of February 1822. Bolivar, proceeding

thither with a large army, met with the Spanish General Murgeon on the heights of Curiaco; an engagement ensued on the 7th of April, in which the Spaniards were defeated, leaving a great number of prisoners, and the principal part of their ammunition and stores, in the hands of the Colombians: Murgeon was severely wounded, and died two days afterwards. General Sucré also, who commanded a patriot force operating against Quito, on the side of Guayaquil, after attacking and defeating a body of royalists, took possession of Rio Camba. In May, the watch-tower called Mirador de Solano, which commanded the town of Puerto Cabello, surrendered by capitulation to General Paez; and the garrison were conveyed to Puerto Rico.

On the 24th of May the battle of Pichincha was fought, in which the royalists were totally defeated, with the loss of one thousand five hundred men, besides one hundred and sixty officers, killed, wounded, and pri-

soners, fourteen pieces of artillery, one thousand seven hundred musquets, and all their ammunition, standards, chests, and military stores. In consequence of this victory, the patriots under the command of Sucré entered the city of Quito, by capitulation, on the evening of the 25th of May.

Under the terms of this capitulation, or convention, the patriots likewise became possessed of the whole territory of Quito, with all the magazines, stores, and ammunition; and they were besides joined by the greater part of the royalist troops. On the 8th of June, the city of Pasto also surrendered to Bolivar by capitulation.

The remnant of the royalist army, which was defeated at Pichincha, retreated to Panecillo, where they capitulated, or rather were included in the capitulation under which Quito was surrendered.

The Spanish commander-in-chief, Morales, who had succeeded La Torre, defeated on the 7th of June the patriot Colonel Penan-

go, who commanded on the side of Coro; the Colonel was taken prisoner, and his troops suffered severely.

This advantage, however, being now, in that quarter, of no use to the royalists, Morales embarked with his troops in July, on board the Spanish frigate Ligera, the brig of war Hercules, and nine transports; and sailing from Coro, arrived shortly afterwards at Puerto Cabello. On the 3d of August, he marched from thence, at the head of two thousand men, against Valencia and Caraccas; but being met on the heights of Birgirama by General Paez, with a considerable force, Morales was completely defeated, and but few of his troops escaped. On the 5th, four hundred royalists landed at Ocumare; but after a severe action with a body of patriots, and losing half their force, the remainder surrendered.

Thus, in an almost incredibly short period, the apparently formidable superiority of the Spaniards was utterly annihilated;

and the patriot cause, through the unceasing, the able, the skilful, and well-directed exertions of Bolivar, the zeal and talents of his officers, and the spirit and bravery of the troops which they commanded, became completely triumphant; and (all the hopes of the royalists being entirely destroyed) was firmly established upon a secure and lasting foundation.

It now only remains to add a few facts from the report made by Don Pedro Briceno Mendes, the minister of the war department, to the Congress assembled at Bogotá, on the 13th of April 1823.

After detailing the operations and the brilliant successes of the campaign, which had respectively taken place and been obtained, in the interval between the dissolution of the last, and the assembling of the present Congress, and which have been already narrated, the minister proceeds to mention the subsequent march of Bolivar, with a body of troops to Peru; but who, after his arrival at

Callao, finding circumstances not then favourable in Peru, retired to Guayaquil. Bolivar, as I have already mentioned, has since again entered Peru, and the result of the expedition has every prospect of success.

The report then alludes to the hostile disposition of the inhabitants of the province of Coro, who refusing in 1810 to join in the cry of liberty, had continually afterwards been the cause of bloodshed and disasters to the patriot arms, by their obstinate adherence to the cause of the Spaniards. An absolute and entire amnesty, however, had been granted to them by the patriot authorities; but when, after the opening of the campaign of 1821, it became necessary to withdraw from Coro the patriot division which had for some time remained there, the inhabitants by, as it were, a general spontaneous movement declared against the patriot cause, and delivered themselves up to a Spanish officer, who had, till then, been concealed in the woods.

They formed themselves in military array; and though twice defeated, after the victory of Carabobo, by a patriot force, under the command of Colonel Juan Escalona, they obstinately refused to accept the pardon which was offered to them. It was at that period impossible, from the still threatening aspect of the Spanish force, for the patriots to send many troops to Coro; nor could the country, from the devastations of war, and the want of rain, afford them the means of subsistence. Reinforcements were, however, at length sent, sufficient to rout the enemy's troops, and even to occupy all the inhabited parts of the province, with the aid of some management: by means of this the confidence between the Spanish commander and the leading people of Coro was interrupted, many of the latter going over to the patriots.

Unfortunately, however, disputes arose amongst the patriot officers and troops. The Spanish general, availing himself of the

opportunity, went to Coro, and, granting a capitulation, it had the effect of nearly completing the ruin of the patriot division stationed in the province,—a body of troops which the government had ordered to proceed thither from Santa Martha, not having arrived in time to succour its necessity; and the enemy, in violation of the terms of the capitulation, having subsequently incorporated the patriot soldiers in his ranks.

After several delays, a patriot force at length advanced to this quarter; but the enemy had re-embarked and returned to Puerto Cabello.

Morales subsequently succeeded in occupying, for a time, the city and province of Maracaybo,—for the loss of which, charges were instituted against the patriot general who commanded at Zulia The subsequent operations have been already mentioned.

The report then alludes to the irregularity of the organization of the army, and its faulty administration; but observes, that

neither those circumstances, nor its privations, had the power to arrest its glorious career. It then recommends a conscription as the best means of recruiting and keeping up the military force; and a speedy regulation of the administration of the military department; separating the inspection and examination of the expenditure, from the management and distribution of the funds. It concludes by suggesting the urgent necessity of attending to the objects of military education; the recompenses to be awarded to the soldiery; and the constitution of the military tribunals.

END OF VOL. I.

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